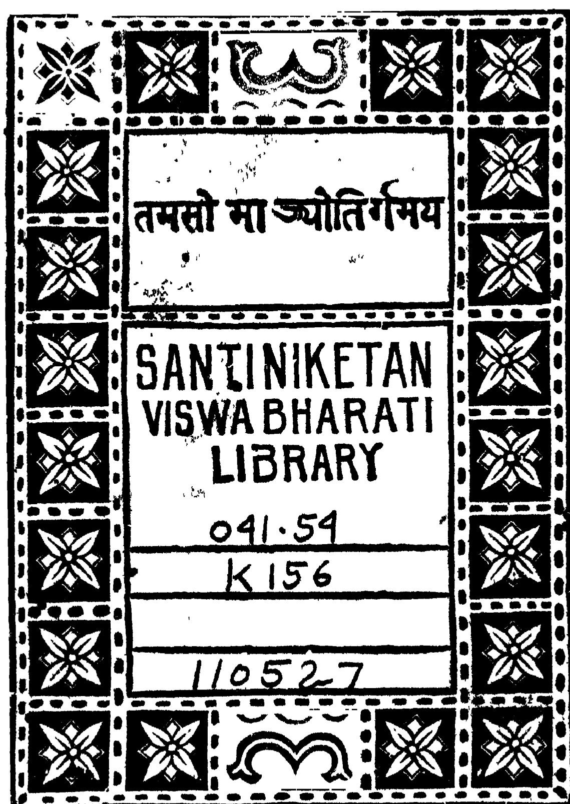


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New Indian Antiquary

A monthly Journal of Oriental Research in Archaeology, Art, Epigraphy, Ethnology, Folklore, Geography, History, Languages, Linguistics, Literature, Numismatics, Philosophy, Religion and all subjects connected with Indology.

EDITED BY

S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph. D. (London)

AND

P. K. GODE, M.A.

EXTRA SERIES

A VOLUME OF EASTERN AND INDIAN STUDIES

IN HONOUR OF

PROFESSOR F. W. THOMAS, C. I. E.

KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE

Karnatak House, Chira Bazar, Bombay (India)

A VOLUME OF EASTERN AND INDIAN STUDIES

Presented to

Professor F. W. THOMAS, C. I. E.,

on his 72nd birth-day 21st March 1939

EDITED BY

S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph. D. (London)

AND

P. K. GODE, M.A.



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FOREWORD

The idea of presenting a Volume of Indian and Eastern Studies to Dr. F. W. Thomas, C.I.E. on the occasion of his 72nd birthday was first discussed by us with Mr. M. N. Kulkarni, Manager of the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, in November, 1937, as we were then busy with the work of founding the *New Indian Antiquary* to be published by this firm with effect from April, 1938. Mr. Kulkarni having readily expressed his willingness to publish the proposed volume a Festschrift Committee consisting of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Dr. S. K. De and Dr. L. Sarup was formed with a view to invite contributions to this Festschrift from Oriental Scholars all over the world. The response to the Committee's appeal was very generous and representative as will be seen from the number and variety of papers included in the present volume though, as a matter of fact, some papers meant for the volume could not be published, having been received too late for publication. We offer our grateful thanks to the members of the Festschrift Committee for their active co-operation, to the Publishers for the self-sacrificing spirit in which they have helped us in honouring an eminent Orientalist and to all the contributors to the volume, but for whose prompt and effective collaboration our efforts would not have been crowned with success. The Karnatak Printing Press also deserve our best thanks for their efficiency and promptness in executing the printing of the volume as elegantly as possible in spite of the heavy pressure of work connected with the *New Indian Antiquary*.

S. M. KATRE.
P. K. GODE.

Poona, 4.
21st March, 1939.



F. W. Thomas

Dear Professor Thomas,

We feel it a great privilege to be permitted to offer you on this auspicious occasion of your 72nd birthday our humble tribute in the form of this Volume of Oriental Studies in partial redemption of the deep debt of our gratitude to you for your unceasing labours in the field of Indology for over half a century. The Bibliography of your writings included in the present Volume bears testimony to your early love for the Greek and Latin Studies which, at the very commencement of your scholarly career got fortunately diverted to Sanskritistic and allied studies on which you have left an abiding mark of your progressive scholarship, and deep erudition born of ripe experience of life and literature, which has revivified some of the standing problems of Indology and opened new vistas of research for fellow-scholars in the field. As a stalwart pioneer in the field of studies pertaining to the Greater India opened by the explorations of Sir Aurel Stein and others your investigations have proved a veritable load-stone attracting the attention and energy of Indologists to fair fields and pastures new. In the field of Ancient Indian Civilization and Culture requiring a thorough knowledge of ancient scripts and languages your assiduous study of the Tibetan and Chinese texts pertaining to Buddhism has illumined many a dark corner in the innermost recesses and ramifications of this field fraught with traps and pitfalls for the novices. Your association with the Library of the India Office as its Librarian is one of the longest on record and it is gratifying to remember how by your genial temperament and cordial manners you have furthered the cause of Indology during the tenure of that office for over a quarter of a century. It was, therefore, a fitting recognition of your manifold academic activities that you have been the recipient of numerous honours conferred on you such as your appointment as Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, Chairman of the Oriental Section of the British Academy and Honorary Member of rumerous learned bodies of status and standing all over the world. The esteem and veneration or rather the spontaneous feelings of brotherhood engendered by your work for the advancement of studies in connection with India's past culminated in your election as the President of the All India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in December, 1937. The Volume of studies now being presented to you is a further extension of this tribute made possible by the cordial co-operation of our Western confrères in the field of Indology, who join hands with us in offering you this tribute and wishing you long life and prosperity.

S. M. KATRE
P. K. GODE

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR
VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR
SUSHIL KUMAR DE
LAKSHMAN SARUP

March 21, 1939.

FREDERICK WILLIAM THOMAS B. MARCH 21, 1867

Scholar (1885—1891) & Fellow (1892—8) of Trinity College, Cambridge.
Head Master's Assistant, King Edward's School, Birmingham (1891—8).
Assistant Librarian (1898–1903) & Librarian (1903-1927), India Office.
Lecturer in Comparative Philology, University College, London (1908—1935).
Reader in Tibetan in the University of London, 1912 (?).
Chairman (?) (1925—1935) of the Board for Comparative Philology in the University of London.
Honorary Secretary (Director 1921–2) of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920—7.
Honorary Treasurer of the Aristotelian Society, 1923—8.
President of the Philological Society, 1926–9.
Editor of *Epigraphia Indica*, 1916—1922.
Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford & Fellow of Balliol College, 1927—1938.
President of the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, & of its Section For Classical Sanskrit, 1937.
Temporary Lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University, 1938.
M. A. (Cambridge), M. A. (Oxford), Hon. Ph. D., Munich, Hon. D. Lit., Allahabad.
Fellow (Member of Council & Chairman of Section IV, Oriental Studies) of the British Academy.
Foreign Member of the Norwegian Academy.
Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy.
Corresponding Member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences.
Foreign Member of the Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen.
Membre Honoraire of the Société Asiatique de Paris.
Ehrenmitglied of the Deutsche Morgenlandische Gessellschaft.
Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.
Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society.
Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Honorary Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Honorary Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Corresponding Member of the Oriental Institute in Prague.
Honorary Member of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society.
Honorary Correspondent of the Government of India, Archæological Department.
Member (appointed by the British Academy) of the Governing Body of the School of Oriental & African Studies.
Member of Council of the India Society.
Member of Council of the British Institute of Philosophy.

Has received the title *Vidyāvāridhi* from the Srī Bharat Dharma Mahamandal.
Has received the title *Jñānabandhu* from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
Has received a medal for Buddhist Studies awarded at the celebration in Tokyo, 1934, of the 2000th anniversary of Buddha's death.

DR. THOMAS

By

THE LIBRARIAN, India Office.

The India Office Library knew him as " Dr. THOMAS ", and he remains just that for its staff : he has become Professor THOMAS in other places, but not here. WHO'S WHO says (and its authority is not to be impugned) that Frederick William THOMAS was born on the 21st of March, 1867. We must believe it ; but it is not easy to do so. He was educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham, and Trinity College, Cambridge. After graduating with First Class honours in the Classical Tripos (1889) he proceeded M.A. in 1893, having been elected Fellow of his College in 1892. In the latter year he joined the staff of his old school as Headmaster's Assistant and retained this position until 1898. It was in these early years that he gave the first published evidences of his many-sided interest in India in two valuable studies, *British education in India* (1891) and *Mutual influence of Muhammadans and Hindus in India* (1892). And to this first phase in his career also belongs the outstanding publication which has placed many students and historians in his debt,—the translation of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, in which he collaborated with E. B. COWELL. A complete bibliography of his works will be found elsewhere in this volume, and I will not attempt to summarize it here. But in speaking of the debt which we all owe to him I am inevitably reminded of the work which figures simply as ' THOMAS ' in the notes to WINTERNITZ's *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* ; that is to say his edition of the *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya* (Bibliotheca Indica, 1912). The nature and the frequency of the references to this publication are a measure of its importance as a source-book, for the history of Sanskrit literature.

In 1898 began that long period of thirty years' devoted service to oriental learning in general and to the India Office Library in particular, in virtue of which (I suppose) the Editors have selected me—as one of the successors or *epigoni* of Dr. THOMAS in the India Office Library—to compose this *praśasti.* Certainly I have one qualification for the task—that only a librarian can measure the merit which a previous librarian has accumulated for the benefit of his successors. When I first joined the India Office Library it was in fact suggested to me that Dr. THOMAS had left nothing more to be done in what was then my particular charge in the Library. I have not, of course, found this to be altogether true ; for the reason that far-sighted and far-reaching plans cannot be completed in an official generation. And what was done for the Library in those thirty years was not only great in achievement, but great also because—as Dr. THOMAS once said to me—" it had at least become clear what remained to be done ". I doubt whether an administration can leave a better legacy than to make it clear what remains to be done. There are

legends of Dr. THOMAS in the India Office Library, but I must not give away the secrets of the trade : however, one of his *obiter dicta* to the staff—" We can't always give them what they want : but we can at least give them courtesy "—may perhaps go on record without impropriety as a profitable saying. (Whether he actually said it or not is a matter of minor importance. The legends that grow up around a personality are significant, even if they are not exactly true).

To turn again to mere facts, Dr. THOMAS was appointed Assistant Librarian in 1898, when C. H. TAWNEY was Librarian, and succeeded TAWNEY as Librarian in 1903. He retired at the age of sixty in 1927, after a longer service in the Library (as Assistant Librarian and Librarian) than any previous Librarian except the first, Sir Charles WILKINS, who held office for thirty-five years (1801-1836).

During this long period he received academic honours from every quarter of the world. The University of Munich conferred on him an honorary Doctorate of Philosophy ; he became Honorary Secretary and Director (1921-22) of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Honorary Treasurer of the Aristotelian Society ; Corresponding or Foreign Member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, the Norwegian Academy, the Russian Academy, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Göttingen ; and a fellow of the British Academy. He was appointed Reader in Tibetan in the London University, a Member of the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies, and (1908-1935) Lecturer in Comparative Philology at University College (London University). On his retirement he was awarded the honour of C. I. E.

By a fortunate chance the period of Dr. THOMAS' librarianship coincided with one of the major events in the annals of literary discovery—the recovery by Sir Aurel STEIN, from the sands of Turkestan, of a mass of manuscripts and documents in Sanskrit, Kuchean, Khotanese and Tibetan. The thousands of Tibetan documents of the Stein Collection which thus came to the India Office at once claimed, and have ever since retained, the first place among Dr. THOMAS' manifold interests. As Librarian he imposed admirable order upon this great collection, and as a scholar he devoted years of patient research to the interpretation of these unique and very ancient documents. Some of the results of these researches have been made public from time to time, and they are being gathered together and completed in his *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Eastern Turkestan,* of which the first volume was published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1935, and the second is now almost ready for publication. A third volume will, in due course, complete the record of a research which, whether judged by the importance of its results or by the qualities which have made those results possible, must always rank as one of the outstanding achievements of oriental scholarship.

I have been led to digress from the biographer's duty of recording in order the periods of Dr. THOMAS' life because there are from one point of view no periods in a life devoted to a single purpose. But I ought to have

recorded that he retired from the India Office in 1927, at the age of sixty, to commence another phase of service in the same cause though in another capacity, as Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, having been elected to fill that very distinguished Chair in succession to the late Professor A. A. MACDONELL. The Congress of Orientalists met at Oxford in that year, and as Chairman of the Organizing Committee and President of a Section he was faced with heavy demands upon his energies at a time when he was organizing his lectures and other professorial duties. But he gave then, as always, the impression of having an inexhaustible fund of surplus energy in reserve, and of somehow managing to find or make time to carry on his usual activities, whatever additional claims might be made upon him. Oxford has for a relatively long period (1927-1938) had the good fortune to benefit by his superabundant energy, and his willingness at all times to expend it. To speak of retirement in connection with Dr. THOMAS is always misleading. He does not retire, except to begin again. And he began the next period of his life—if I must divide his life into periods—before the official termination of the preceding period by accepting an invitation to preside over the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937. In his presidential address on that occasion he gave a very valuable and comprehensive survey of the state of oriental learning, of its achievements up to the present through the co-operative labours of students, and of the lines along which such further efforts may with profit be directed. His friends in England had anticipated that he would return after a few weeks in India. But he found other things to do there,—Calcutta University thought it would be a good thing if he gave a course of lectures there. He thought so too. And after that he thought it would be a good thing to discuss Sanskrit learning with the pandits in Khatmandu, and (as is his habit) translated the thought into fact. If he could have gone further he would (I suspect) have done so. But he has come back now, to resume—as if there had been no interruption—his normal labours. Long may they continue !

H. N. RANDLE

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CONTENTS.

KHOTANESE NAMES

By

H. W. BAILEY, Cambridge.

Khotan has for many years been central in the work of Professor F. W. THOMAS, and it is a great pleasure to me to be able to offer him, as a *biṣṭa* to a *pīsai*, a miscellany of Khotanese names from unpublished documents. It is possible here only to give preliminary notes. The texts will be published in full elsewhere. In the hope of lightening the transcription the distinction of *i* and *i̱* and the non-etymological anusvāra have been ignored.

1. *drrvāttīrai.*

P. 2786.74 *drrvāttīrai prramauha ttathāgata śarībadrri* 'the chief tathāgata Śrībhadra of Drrvāttīrai.'

Ch. 00269.43 *drrvāttīrai hiye hīvī aü^la^* 'the camels of the master of Drrvāttīrai.'

The place is called Ḥdro-tir and Dro-tir in Tibetan texts, see F. W. THOMAS, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan* (which I quote below as THOMAS) and *JRAS* 1930.61.

2. *gūmattīrai.*

P. 2786.123 *gūmattīrai āṣ̆arī* 'the ācārya of Gūmattīrai' and the same in line 37 is given as *gvāmittīrai āṣ̆arī*

Ch. 00269.37 *gūmattīrai rrispūri hīya drrayi ula* 'the three camels of the Prince of Gūmattīrai.'

Staël-Holstein roll 41 *cāṃ ttūttū gūmattīri bas̆ï paste padaide* 'Cāṃ ttūttū was pleased to (re)build the stūpa of Gūmattīri.'

Ch. 00269.48 *gūmattīrai hiye hīvī drraysi* 'the draught-animals (?) of the master of Gūmattīrai.'

Or. 8212 (162) B 23 *gūmattīra vī* 'in Gūmattīra' in reference to the works of Śrrī Vījatta Sagrrauma there.

Mazar Tagh c. 0020, 3 *gūmattīrya bisaṃja* 'in the Bhikṣusaṅgha of Gūmattīra.'

In Tibetan the name is Ḥgum-tir and Ḥgum-stir (THOMAS p. 7,108). The stūpa of Gūmattīra was famous.

3. *gūttauṣani.*

Ch. 00269.111 *mihe vā rrvīye dyāme pyatsa aüna naradadū si gūttauṣani tsāṃ* 'we went out from the presence of the king, thinking, we will go to Gūttauṣani.'

This is the Chinese name of the Gośīrṣa or Gośṛṅga hill in Khotan, which is named in Tibetan Gau-tośan, Ḥgeḥu-tośan, Ḥgeḥu-ton-śan, Ḥgiḥu-te-śan, Ḥgeḥu-te-śan (THOMAS p. 6-7, 103, 109, 306).

4. *sāmanyāña.*

Ch. 00274, 2 r 3 *ttrrivīlai mestä sāmanyāña bisaṃja si vedyaśīlä khu ācārī devä.* 'the great Tripiṭaka-knower, in the Sāmanyā Bhikṣusaṅgha named Vedyaśīla, like the ācārya Deva.'

This is the monastery known in the Tibetan texts as So-ma-ña and Sum-ña (THOMAS p. 118) and in Chinese as So-mo-ẓo, in Middle Chinese pronunciation * Sâ-muâ-ńźiak. The Khotanese form *sāmanyāña* is formed with the adjectival suffix *-āna.*

5. *ārñāna.*

In P. 2787 Śrrī Viśa Sagrrāma is said to have made a vow (praṇidhāna) and later to have been born in Khotan. He reigned at least twelve years, if a statement in Or. 8212 (162) is correct, and was active in building. There is a reference to the building of the *sakhārma ārñāna* 'the Saṅghārāma Ārñāna' in P. 2787.94, and an allusion to the same monastery is found in Ch. 00273.59 *ārañāṃ sagai.* It is the *'or-ñoṅ* of Tibetan texts, but not the Khotanese word *uryāna,* as proposed BSOS viii 935. It is now also possible to confirm the identity of *'or-ñoṅ* (THOMAS p. 322) with *'or-myoṅ-nag* (THOMAS p. 133). It is recorded there : Then King Vijaya-Saṅgrāma, having built the monastery Gus-kyi-'or-myoṅ-nag, many of his female retinue attained *nirvāṇa.* Here too it is the same king Viśa Saṅgrāma. Tibetan *my* was pronounced *ñ,* so that evidently both names represent the same word. The word *gus-kyi* can also be recognized. It is the common Khotanese word *gūscya* 'deliverance,' and to this the Tibetan text alludes in *thar-par skyes* 'born to deliverance', where *thar-pa* means 'to be freed.'

6. *birgaṃdara* and 7. *phaṃnā.*

The place Birgaṃdara is several times named in the documents. In Or. 9268 (edited by KONOW, *NTS* ix 21 f.) Birgaṃdara is associated with Phaṃnā-, in adjectival form Phaṃnāja-. We have here clearly the two places Pha-ña and Be-rka-ḥdra mentioned in Tibetan (THOMAS p. 135).

8. *mārgāṃpadaiśai.*

In Ch. 00269.10 a teacher is named : *ttaya-śī mārgāṃpadaiśai ttrravīlai āśarī prrañībhākaravarrda* and again line 15 *ttayi-śī mārgabūde<śi>, ttrrivīlai āśarī prrañābhākaravarrda* 'the great scholar, the path-instructor, the Tripiṭaka-knower, the ācārya Prajñābhākaravardhana.' The word is adapted from Sanskrit *mārgopadeśa,* as *ttrrivīlai* is adapted from *tripiṭaka* (which occurs as *dri-bi-le* in Tibetan, THOMAS p. 316). The second form *mārgabūde<śai>* has apparently been changed from **mārgūbdeśai.* It is

clear that we have here the word occurring in the Tibetan texts ***mo-rgu-bde-śi*** (THOMAS p. 110), correctly explained as 'way-shower.'

9. *sūmapauña* and 10. *hūlūra*

S. 2471.266 f. a list of *nāvauna rāṃda* 'kings of the Nāgas' includes the name *Sūmapauña.*

Ch. 00267.26 *grahavidatta, sūmapauña, hūlūra.*

This is the Nāga-king named Sum-pon in the Tibetan texts (THOMAS p. 119). The more famous Hūlūra is the Hulluro nāgarāja of the *Mahāvyutpatti* (edited by SAKAKI) 3279, and the Hu-lor of the Tibetan texts (THOMAS p. 107).

MIDDHA AND MIDDHAVĀDINS

By

P. V. BAPAT, Poona

1. Middha (torpor) is included in the pair thīna—(Sloth, styāna in San.)—middha, which is mentioned, times without number, in Buddhist Texts as one of the hindrances (nīvaraṇā). If one wishes to attain any of the four or five trances, one must in the first place destroy those hindrances. Then only can one progress on the Path of the attainment of the Buddhist ideal. Thīna-middha played such an important part in the opposite camp of a Buddhist aspirer that it is called in the *Sutta-nipāta* (437) the fifth division of Māra's army, with which the Buddha had to fight before he attained enlightenment under the Bodhi Tree.

2. What is the meaning of thīna-middha?

S. v. 103-105 gives the āhāra (food, favourable conditions) as well as the anāhāra (unfavourable conditions) :—

" Atthi bhikkhave arati, tandi, vijambhikā, bhatta-sammado, cetaso ca līnattaṃ. Tattha ayoniso manasikāra-bahulīkāro ayam āhāro anuppannassa vā thīna-middhassa uppādāya, uppannassa vā thīna-middhassa bhiyyobhāvāya vepullāya.........Atthi Bhikkhave ārambha-dhātu, nikkama-dhātu, parakkama-dhātu. Tattha yoniso manasikāra-bahulīkāro ayamāhāro anuppannassa vā thīna-middhassa anuppādāya uppannassa vā thīna-middhassa pahānāyā" ti.

" There are, O mendicants, discontent, bodily indolence, yawning, drowsiness on account of food, and indisposition of the mind towards action. Unwise indulgence in these things leads to the occurrence of sloth and torpor which may not yet have arisen and increases them if they have already arisen. ....There are, O mendicants, elements of striving, efforts, or exertions. Wise application to these things will lead to the non-occurrence of sloth and torpor if they have not already arisen, or to their destruction if they have already arisen."

In this passage we get the constitutents that are favourable or unfavourable both to thīna as well as middha. In *Sutta-nipāta* 942 (niddaṃ tandiṃ sahe thīnaṃ), we have in the place of middha, niddā (sleep) and tandi (indolence) coupled with thīna. Arhatship is impossible unless one gives up both these factors along with four others (*A.* iii. 421). Thīna-middha is described as overpowering the mind of a mendicant, who does not take interest in the holy life, who entertains doubt about dhammas, who is groping in the dark for want of clearness of vision (*A.* iii. 69 ff).

While showing how the five nīvaraṇas or hindrances can be construed as ten *S.* v. 110 shows how kāmacchanda (passionate desire), byāpāda (ill-will) and vicikicchā (doubt) can be taken as internal (ajjhatta) and ex-

ternal (bahiddhā), while of the remaining joint-words, thīna (sloth) and uddhacca (flurry) correspond to the internal while middha (torpor) and kukkucca (worry) correspond to the *external.*

There is another passage in *A.* iv. 85-91 which throws more light on the nature of middha :

Once upon a time while the Blessed One was living at Suṃsumāragiri, in the deer-forest called Bhesakalāvana, Mahāmoggallāna was living at the village Kalalavālamutta in the country of the Magadhas. The Buddha with his celestial eye saw Mahamoggallāna nodding (while he was probably sitting in his place of retirement). He immediately came to the place and said to Mahāmoggallāna that he was nodding. The other admitted the fact. The Buddha, thereupon, told him the various methods to be used one after the other, to shake off the *middha* or torpor that may overpower one. Each succeeding one was to be tried if the former did not succeed. He asked him to give up and not to indulge in those perceptions which bring torpor on him. If that does not succeed, he is asked to ponder over in mind what he has learnt or mastered. Next, he has to recite aloud the texts that he has learnt by heart. If this fails, he has to wring and pull his ears and give a sharp rub to all his limbs. This also failing, he has to get up from his seat, wash his eyes, look at all the ten directions (the four major, four minor, the Zenith and the Nadir) at the stars and constellations of stars. He is also advised to keep before his mind the consciousness of the presence of light, even by night as by day. He has to keep his mind open, uncovered and flooded with light. Next he may walk on his gravel-path (cankama) with consciousness on the alert as he moves forward and backward. All these methods failing, he may lie down on his right side, in the posture of a lion's slumber, with one leg across the other and keeping *uppermost in his mind* the idea of getting up. He gets up quickly, as soon as he is awake, and does not think of deriving any delight in rolling on his bed.

3. Let us turn to other canonical texts. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (§§ 1156, 1157), *Vibhaṅga* 253, explain these words, thīna and middha separately :

Tattha katamaṃ thīnaṃ? Yā *cittassa* akalyatā akammaññatā, olīyanā sallīyanā, līnaṃ līyanā līyitattaṃ thīnam thīyanā thīyitattaṃ cittassa—idaṃ vaccati thīnaṃ.

Tattha katamaṃ middhaṃ? Yā *kāyassa* akalyatā akammaññata, onāho pariyonāho, anto-samorodho, middhaṃ, soppaṃ, pacalāyikā soppoṃ supino supitattaṃ—idaṃ vuccati middhaṃ.

Here if we read these words *independently* of the Commentaries, it appears that thīna was considered to be a mental condition, while the other was a physical one. *Niddesa*[1] 423, while commenting on niddā and thīna (in *Sn.* 942) gives the same interpretation as is quoted above of middha and thīna respectively. *Niddesa*[2] 163 confirms the interpretation of thīna.

4. Now let us turn to other non-canonical texts preceding the commentaries.

While discussing the question as to the physical or mental condition of a person who sees a dream, *Milinda-pañha* pp. 299-301 says that he dreams not while he is awake, nor while he is asleep, but when the mind is being overpowered by *middha* and yet it has not come to the condition of life-continuum (api ca okkante middhe, asampatte bhavange, etthantre supinaṃ passati). For the mind goes back into life-continuum (bhavanga) when it has been *thoroughly over-ridden* by middha and so the mind does not work —as when one reaches the attainment of Cessation (Nirodha-samāpatti)— although there is the body. The Author, moreover , tells us that middha has three stages : the beginning, middle and end, which are further thus defined.: " Yo Mahārāja, *kāyassa* onāho, pariyonāho dubbalyaṃ mandatā akammaññtā *kāyassa*—ayam middhassa ādi.

Yo, Mahāraja, kapiniddāpareto vokiṇṇaṃ jaggati, idaṃ middhassa majjhaṃ. Bhavanga--gati pariyosānaṃ. Majjhūpagato *kapiniddāpareto* supinaṃ passati."............Later, it is added " Evameva kho, Mahārāja, jāgaro, *na middha-samāpanno,* ajjhupagato kapiniddaṃ, *kapiniddāpareto* supinaṃ passati."

" That, O Great King, which is the shrouding, and wrapping up of the *body,* weakness, feebleness, unworkability of the *body,* this is the beginning of torpor.

He, O Great King, who like a monkey goes to sleep and intermittently keeps awake—His state is the middle.

To go back into the like-continuum is the end. It is in the middle state when he has a monkey's doze that a man sees a dream." Later it is added.

" Thus, O Great King, it is while he is awake (in so far as he is given to a monkey's doze) but not (entirely) over-ridden by torpor that a man sees a dream." Here obviously the author takes middha to be a *bodily* condition. Elsewhere (p. 253) he says that even an Arhat cannot have any control over ten things including thīna-middha.

5. *Netti-pakaraṇa* (pp. 86, 88) also explains these words in agreement with the spirit of *Dhammasaṅgaṇi, Vibhaṅga* etc. " Thīnaṃ nāma yā *cittassa akallatā,* akammaniyatā ; Middham nāma yaṃ *kāyassa* līnattaṃ "

6. *Peṭakopadesa,* another important but less-known text, which may be described as a companion volume of the *Netti-pakaraṇa,* explains (p. 300, Burmese Printed Text) middha as ' fatigue of the body' (kāyakilamatho), or as its unworkability, although in another place, strangely enough, it is also explained as Cittassa[1] jaḷatā, Cittassa garuttaṃ etc., while thīna is interpreted as kāyassa[1] ṭhitatā, jaḷata, kāyassa garutā, apassaddhi.[2] Elsewhere (p. 201) it says that even an Arhat is subject to middha, a bodily defilement. And, therefore, it is not a hindrance. It is not necessarily a nīvaraṇa for

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1. With this cf. *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* ed. by WOGHIARA, p. 130, DE LA VALLÉ POUSSIN'S *Abhk.* ii 161, where even styāna is referred as also kāyika. See below p. 12 §19

2. We cannot however be perfectly sure of the correctness of the Text ; for it is not faultless.

him. (Atthi pana Arahato kāyakilesamiddhañ ca okkamati, na ca taṃ nīvaraṇaṃ. Tassa thīnamiddhaṃ nīvaraṇan ti na ekaṃsena).

7. *Vimuttimagga*,[1] another important book of Hīnayāna Buddhism, by one Upatissa, has something definite to say about middha. It gives (p. 48) three kinds of middha : that which is produced from food (āhāraja), from (hot) season (utuja), and from mind (cittaja). It is only the last which the author considers as a hindrance (nīvaraṇa), while the other two are possible to be found even in an Arhat. To support his view, he gives the authoritative statement of Anuruddha, who is reported to have said that fifty-five years had elapsed since he had destroyed the āsavas (depravities) and had attained a state where there was no middha produced from *citta*, but it was only twenty-five yeare since he had destroyed middha produced from food and hot-weather-conditions. Upatissa further says that although middha is a material quality, it is still a mental taint of a minor type (cetasika upakkilesa), because form (rūpa) is something which defiles the mind. Although middha is a physical quality and thīna a mental quality, they are considered as one hindrance (nīvaraṇa) because they have the same ārammaṇa (object of thought) and the same characteristics in that they are identical with fatigue and exhaustion. It forms a part of rūpa (p. 95), which along with jarā-rūpa is of thirty kinds. It is *not* given up at the time of Arhatship......for it is the accompaniment of physical form (rūpānuvatti)......while thīna and uddhacca (flurry) are given up at that stage (p. 123).

8. When, however, we come to Buddhaghosa and his Commentaries, we see a distinct change in the interpretation of the word 'middha'. Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga*, XIV Chapter (p. 450) refers to the views of 'some' who believe in the middharūpa. Following the Aṭṭhakathās, he is emphatic in denying the same. It is rejected on the authority of quotations like

"Addhā munī' si Sambuddho natthi nīvaraṇā tava" (*Sn.* 541).

He concludes his remarks by saying that there are just twenty-eight kinds of rūpa or material qualities, neither more nor less. Elsewhere (496) thīna is characterised as lack of enthusiasm ; its function is to drive out energy, and its manifestation is in depression. Middha is characterised as indisposition to work, its function is to wrap up or confine and its manifestation is in lethargy. Buddhaghosa gives as an alternative, nodding, and sleep as its manifestation (pacalāyikā-niddā-paccupaṭṭhānaṃ vā).

9. In Commentaries, thīna is interpreted as langour of mind (citta-gelaññaṃ), while middha in many cases (but not in all) is interpreted as langour of mental concomitants (cetasika gelañña ; *DA.* i. 211, *MCm.* ii. 216; *VbhCm.* p. 369). *DCm.* iii. 1027 says the same in a little-varying words : "Thīnaṃ citta-gelaññaṃ, middhaṃ khandhattaya-gelaññaṃ ; ubhayam pi

1. *Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga* : A Comparative Study by the Author (1937).

Arahattamagga-vajjhaṃ". "Thīna is the langour of mind, and middha is the langour of the three khandhas, i.e. sensation, perception, and conformations. Both of them are destroyed by the Path of Arhatship."

This statement is also confirmed by *SCm.* i. 165. *S.* i. 35 while commenting upon niddā (sleep) say that it is thīna-middha, sloth and torpor produced in the evil mind accompanied by promptings (sasankhārika-akusala-citta), of the common folk or of those who are under training (sekha). This definition does not cover the sleep of the Arhats like the Blessed One, who go to sleep (by day) in summer season on account of physical exhaustion. *SCm.* iii. 258-59 shows how thīna-middha, when one knows that it has overpowered him, is to be removed. He has to wash his face with water, pull his ears, recite the texts that he has mastered, and keep before his mind the consciousness of the presence of light. This agrees in thought the passage from *A.* iv. 85-91 given above. In *ACm.* iii. 15, 95, 215, however, middha-sukha is explained as niddā sukha (the happiness of sleep), thus showing that middha was identified with niddā (sleep). *SnCm* (on *Sn.* 942) explains "niddaṃ tandiṃ sahe thīnaṃ" as pacalāyikaṃ (nodding) ca, kāyālasiyam (bodily laziness) ca, cittālasiyañ cā (mental sluggishness) ti ime tayo dhamme abhibhaveyya". This shows again that niddā and tandi correspond to middha and they are explained as physical dhammas such as nodding and bodily laziness.

10. There is a very long passage in the *Aṭṭhasālinī* (p. 378 ff) the authorship of which also tradition ascribes to Buddhaghosa—though the tradition is not beyond dispute—giving the arguments for and against the physical or mental nature of middha. We give below the arguments in an abridged form :

(i) Thīna and middha are considered to be part of the hindrances and are destroyed at the stage of the attainment of the Path of Arhatship. These factors are allied and are said to be generally present at the commencement or at the end of the sleep of those who are common folk (puthujjana) or of those who are under training. [This agrees with the statement of *SCm.* i. 35 given above]. The Arhats whose depravities (āsavā) are destroyed fall, however, asleep because of the inherent feebleness of their corporal body, produced from karma, which launches the mind of the Arhats into the pure (unsullied) state of life-continuum (bhavanga). This state of theirs is called sleep (niddā). Even the Blessed One was not free from such sleep. We find the Buddha admitting to Aggivessana (*M.* i. 249) to have slept in the summer season on account of fatigue. This sense of exhaustion cannot be overcome at the stage of the attainment of the Path (or Arhatship). Beings possessed of corporal body as well as those that do not possess such a body are subject to this exhaustion. Even an Arhat, when he has walked far off, or when he has done a work of physical exhaustion, is subject to this fatigue. Similarly, leaves, flowers and lotuses that are full-blown by day, get shrunk at night (and thus exhibit signs of exhaustion). But what is called middha

(torpor) does not *affect* (the Arhats) who have destroyed the depravities (āsavā), because it is evil (akusalattā).

(ii) Here an opponent might say : Middha is *not* evil ; for it is form or material quality (rūpa) which is (neither good nor bad but) indeterminate (abyākata). It is bodily quality inasmuch as middha is explained as "incapability of the *body*" (kāyassa), unworkability of the *body*.

(iii)[1] To this it may be replied : If by the use of the word *kāya* in the explanation of the word middha, it is to be physical or material quality, then other dhammas like reposeness of the body (*kāya-passaddhi*) etc.—which are really qualities of the mind (cetasikā dhammā)—will also have to be considered as bodily qualities. Likewise, when one says that he experiences ease (sukha) personally (kāyena), or that he realizes the Highest or Ultimate Truth personally (kāyena), then these functions of experiencing ease and realising the Ultimate Truth—which are really mental phenomena—will have to be considered as bodily ones. Therefore, it should not be said that middha is form or material quality. For, what is here meant by the word *kāya is nāmakāya* (mental sphere).

(iv) Opponent :—"If by the use of the word *kāya,* here, it is nāmakāya that is meant, then why is it that in the further explanation of the word 'middha', the words sleep (soppaṃ), nodding (pacalāyikā) are used? Surely it is not *nāma-kāya* that sleeps or nods."

(v) This objection may be removed by saying that the words 'sleep' and the rest are used by way of showing the *effect* or consequence of middha (torpor), which is really nothing but langour of nāmakāya. Such use of words showing the 'effect' for the 'cause' is commonly met with, when one uses the expressions like 'female sex' (itthilinga), 'femine characteristics, feminine gestures, feminine behaviour' to indicate the controlling faculty of feminity (itthindriya). When middha is present, sleep and the rest do follow. Therefore, although middha is a non-material quality (a-rūpaṃ) it is called by words like 'sleep (niddā), nodding (pacalāyikā), dream, dreaming'. This is, therefore, a figurative use of words showing 'effect' for the 'cause'. This is further proved by the interpretation of the word 'pacalāyikā which means that which makes the eyes or eye-lids wink.' Therefore, middha is not a material quality (rūpa).

It is further corroborated by the use of the words 'onāha' (shrouding) etc. For, a material quality cannot be a 'shrouding', 'wrapping up', 'confining' of nāmakāya. [This is really begging the question and so it is a weak chain in the argument].

(vi) "Nay, for this *very* reason is middha not a material quality? For, a non-material quality cannot be 'shrouding', 'wrapping', or 'confining' of any other dhamma."

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1. The odd numbers represent the Orthodox view and the even numbers the opponent's view.

(vii) "If we accept your argument, then a non-material quality would not be even 'coverings'. Therefore it cannot be so. · Just as non-material qualities like 'lust' can become hindrances in the sense that they cover up (good qualities), in the same way, the 'shrouding' etc. can be said of this (non-material middha). Further these hindrances are described to be the minor taints (upakkilesā) of the mind and the weakening factors of *insight* (paññā). So middha must be considered as non-material; for a material quality cannot be a minor taint of the mind, nor can it be a weakening factor of insight."

(viii) "Why can it not be? Can middha not be a minor taint of the mind or a weakening factor of insight, like wine or liquor (surā or majja) —which is a material thing--which in sacred books is described to be so (*A.* ii. 53). If when wine or liquor has gone into the stomach, it leads to the defilement of the mind or the weakening of insight, then why should we not expect similar results from middha also?"

(ix) "Nay, it cannot be so. For (liquor) is referred to as the *cause* of defilement. If liquor had ever been defilement itself, it would have been so mentioned in the various passages like *A.* iii. 16, S. v. 92, *A.* ii. 67). But inasmuch as it leads to defilements or minor taints, weakening insight, it is so mentioned. But middha is *itself* a defilement of the *mind* and weakener of the insight (as all hindrances are so described above in sub-para vii). So middha is nothing but non-material (a-rūpameva).

And further this is corroborated by the use of the word 'associated' in the following quotation from *Dhs.* §1170 :—

"The hindrances of sloth and torpor being coupled with ignorance (avijjā) are hindrances as well as associated (sampayutta) with hindrances. For, a material quality would not be described as being 'associated' (which is a peculiarity of the mental or non-material dhammas)."

(x) It may be objected that the word 'associated' (sampayutta) in the above quotation need not necessarily be taken as referring to middha, but that it may be taken with any of the words mentioned there with which it may aptly fit. Just as in the expression "The oysters and shells, gravel and potsherds, and fishes that move about or are stationary" the words 'move about' are applicable to oysters, shells and fishes only and not to 'gravel and potsherds' which are stationary, and yet the phrase move about or 'are stationary' is used in connection with all the words, it being implied that the words 'move about' are to be understood with only that word or those words with which they will fit. In the same way, in the above sentence (§ ix) "the hindrances of sloth and torpor............are hindrances as well as associated with hindrances" the words 'associated with' may be taken with sloth (thīna) and so it may be understood that the word 'hindrances' is applicable to middha only, while it is thīna that is both 'hindrance' as well as with hindrances.' So 'associated argument about the use of the word' 'associated (sampayutta)' in the explanation of thīna and middha is not valid. Therefore middha is a material quality (rūpa).

(xi) "Surely it cannot be. For, the material nature of middha is something that is not yet proved. Therefore your argument that the use of the word 'associated' in the phrase 'hindrances and associated with hindrances' 'is to be understood' as being applicable only where it fits, is not valid. It is not on par with the use of the words 'move about' or 'are stationary' in connection with the oysters, shells and fishes etc. For, it is well-known even *without* the help of a sutta that the 'gravel and potsherds' do not 'move about' and so there we can say that the words 'move about' or 'are stationary' are to be understood in the sentence with words with which they are appropriate. But such is not the case here. So middha is non-material (arūpameva).

The validity of our statement is further proved by the use in *Vibhaṅa* (254) of the expressions such as "only when sloth and torpor are abandoned, given up, let go, that one becomes free from them" or that "he rids his mind, purifies, frees, releases, or delivers from sloth and torpor". A material quality cannot be described in these words and so it is non-material."

(xii) "No; for, it is said in *Vibhaṅga* that *that* middha which as you say, is produced from mind—Middha is threefold: that which is respectively produced from mind, (hot) season, and material food (agreeing with the statement of the *Vimuttimagga*; see para. 7 above)—is not to be found[1] in those whose minds are engrossed in trances. Therefore its mental or non-material nature is not established. Hence it is a material quality."

(xiii) "Nay, it is its material quality that still remains to be established. For if middha had been considered as a material quality it should have been said in the *Vibhaṅga* "*cittajassa* (middhassa)[2] asambhavo (impossibility of torpor produced from mind)". The material quality of rūpa is a point under dispute. And so middha is non-material.

And further our contention is upheld when we find the mention of middha among the hindrances, the abandonment of which is essential before the first trance is attained. If middha had been rūpa, it could not have been described as something that can be abandoned. For, "the Group of material qualities (rūpakkhandha) is to be known, comprehended; it is *not* to be adandoned or cultivated or realized (Cf. *S.* iii. 26 etc.)"

(xiv) No, this statement cannot be accepted. For even a material quality is described to be something that can be abandoned as when it is said "Form, O mendicants, is not *yours*; you should give it up (*S.* iii. 33). Therefore what you say does not stand to reason. (xv) No, what you say is not right. For, there are several statements to the contrary. Besides, the abandon-

1. "Implied by the words" cattattā, etc. in *Vbh.* 254 (*Mūlaṭikā on Aṭṭhasālinī*).

2. The argument is quite clear. "*Aṭṭhasālinī-Yojanā,* another Commentary on the *Aṭṭhasālinī*, says: Etan ti tattha cittajassa *middhassa* asambhavo vutto' ti vacanaṃ laddhuṃ sakkā. Tattha Vibhange cittajassa *rūpassa* asambhavo Bhagavatā vutto."

ment in the above expression is to be understood in the sense of the abandonment of *passion* and *attachment* for rūpa, and not in the sense of the abandonment of rūpa as a whole. Similarly, from other references we can say that middha cannot be described as a material quality. There are various passages like *A*. iii. 63, 65 ; S. v. 93, illustrating the non-material nature of middha where it is included among the hindrances that are associated with things mental or non-material.

Further it is said in the explanation of a passage in the Paṭṭhāna that even in the formless plane (arūpāvacara-loka) thīna and middha do exist as the effect of passion and attachment. Therefore, one must come to the conclusion that middha is non-material (arūpameva).

11. *Abhidhammāvatāra,* a work written by Buddhadatta, a contemporary of Buddhaghosa, mentions (p. 20) lightness of body and lightness of mind (kāya-lahutā, citta-lahutā) as opposed to thīna and middha. He agrees with Buddhaghosa in giving the same characteristics, functions, and manifestations, except that he does not give the alternative in the latter. The immediate cause of both is unwise deliberation (ayoniso manasikāro). This factor is not referred to by Buddhaghosa. Buddhadatta actually mentions (p. 72), '*Middhavādins*' who declare middha to be a kind of material quality and include it in the list of rūpa. He tries to refute them by giving the same quotation as given in the *Visuddhimagga.*

"addhā munī'si sambuddho natthi nīvaraṇā tava" [p. 4 above]

and by using the arguments given above as no. ix last half and no. xv last sub-para from *Aṭṭhasālinī* (§ 1c). He also agrees (pp. 131, 158) with Buddhaghosa is saying that thīna-middha is destroyed by the Fourth Insight (apparently taken to be equal to the insight of Arhatship) and that it is present in five types of consciousness coupled with promptings.

12. Now let us turn to another great Commentator, Dhammapāla.

Theragāthā-Commentary (on verse 17), while commenting on 'middhī' says 'over-powered by thīna-middha.' 'Whatever is over-powered by middha is also over-powered by thīna'. Elsewhere (on v. 271) it explains middha as bodily languidness (kāyālasiya). Udāna-Commentary (on 4th vagga, 12th sutta) explains thīna as inadaptability of mind and middha as that of body. While commenting upon Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga,* xivth chapter, in his Commentary *Paramattha-mañjūsā* (Burmese ed. Mundayne Piṭaka Press Rangoon. vol. ii. 563-64), Dhammapāla admits that though thīna is indisposition of the mind to work and middha that of the three groups, sensation and the rest, still, because, thīna affects only the *mind,* while middha affects the body (rūpa-kāya) as well as the three groups of sensation and the rest, middha is called the immediate cause of nodding and sleep' (pacalāyikā-niddā-paccupaṭṭhānaṃ ; See §, 8 above).

13. The same author elsewhere (*Vis. Cm.* ii. 520-21) gives a long discussion on the material or non-material nature of middha and a few of his arguments are similar to those given above from *Aṭṭhasālinī.* We give in brief

his arguments as some of them are new and not to be found in the *Aṭṭhasālinī* :

(i) Orthodox view : There is no such thing as middha-rūpa. For middha is included among the hindrances (nīvaraṇā) and like kāmacchanda whatever is included among them cannot be a material quality.

(ii) Opponent :—But it may be supposed that middha is two-fold—material and non-material ; and that it is only the latter that is included among the nīvaraṇas.

(iii) No, it cannot be. For, there is no mention of such distinction. And even if such distinction is imagined, you cannot deny the nature of middha as a hindrance (nīvaraṇa).

(iv) It is possible to say that, like the non-material middha, the other (material) middha also is a hindrance, in so far as it has the inherent nature of middha. Let *that* also be considered as a hindrance. What inconsistency will thereby arise?

(v) Yes, there is an inconsistency. A hindrance is something to be given up, while rūpa is something that cannot be given up. [Here quotations are given from sacred texts to support both the statements. This corresponds to argument xv from *Aṭṭhasālinī* (§ 10) given above].

(vi) If you do not accept the view that middha is a material quality, then how do you explain the Blessed One's sleep (niddā) ? It is explained in *Vibhaṅga* (see §3 above) as middha, *niddā,* pacalāyikā.

(vii) It is not middha itself that is sleep. Middha is figuratively explained as sleep (niddā) in so far as it is the cause of sleep. As for instance, in the expressions like 'female sex' etc. [See v from *Aṭṭhasālinī* above §10].

(viii) Well then, if the Blessed One cannot have middha, what leads him to sleep? How does he fall asleep?

(ix) The sleep of the Blessed One is the result of the weakness or feebleness of his body. It is *not* due to middha.

(x) You cannot deny *sleep* of the Blessed One. For, he is quoted as saying that he has pain in the back and that he would, therefore, like to stretch it.

(xi) There is no such positively restrictive assertion as that middha *alone* is the cause of *sleep* like the one that middha alone is the cause of *middha.* Therefore there can be another cause of sleep.

(xii) What is it?

(xiii). It is the langour or sickness of the body (sarīra-gilāniyā). The sleep of the Blessed One is due to this and not to middha.

(xiv) But you cannot deny *sleep* of the Blessed One ; for he has admitted to Aggivessana that he slept by day-time.... [See (i) in the arguments of *Aṭṭhasālinī* §10.].

(xv) For the following reasons also, middha cannot be rūpa. Here the author mentions the argument about the use of sampayutta (associated ; see para. ix from the arguments of the *Aṭṭhasālinī* § 10) as well as the argu-

ment that middha is also found to be mentioned as existing in the formless plane (arūpāvacara-loka).

For all these reasons, therefore, middha is a non-material quality.

14. Now we come to a very late Commentary *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī*, Commentary on *Abhidhammattha-saṅgha*. On pp. 60-61 (Vidyodaya-Ṭīkā Publication, vol. i. 1933) it mentions *middhavādi-mata* (that middha is a rūpa) which he also tries to refute in accordance with the Aṭṭhakathā cariyas. His arguments are those which are already mentioned by Dhammapāla as nos. i and xv above (§13).

15. Let us now turn to Buddhist Sanskrit works and see what evidence is afforded by them on this vexing problem of the material or non-material nature of middha.

Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (pp. 127-28, Bib. Buddhica) quotes from *Āryaratnameghasūtra* a passage where it is said about food : "He eats in such a manner that he becomes neither very lean nor very corpulent. Why so? Because he who is very lean turns away from good and he who is *very corpulent* becomes over-ridden with torpor (*middha*). *Atiguru-kāyo* middhāvaṣṭabdho bhavati.) Therefore one should eat food in such a manner that he should be always inclined towards good (kuśala).

16. Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośa* (ii. 30-31) refers to middha as a ***mental*** factor which is present in all the categories (good, evil or indeterminate) :

Middham sarvāviruddhatvāt (ii.30)

and further says that along with kaukṛtya (mental worry) it is not present even in the first trance. It is included as one of the eight paryavasthānāni (over-ridings or prepositions). Both Styāna and middha are described to have the same contraries, food and function. The food for both these states is sleepiness, discontent, yawning, lack of moderation in food and lethargy of mind. What is its destructive element (anāhāra)? Consciousness of light. (Cf. *S*. v. 64 ; *A*. 1. 3. v. 113 ; *D*. iii. 49, 223.) Styāna is described as one of the six kleśamahābhīmikas.

17. Vasubandhu agrees with the author of *Milinda-pañha* in saying that in a state of dream the mind is over-powered by middha : middhenopahataṃ cittam svapne (Viṃśatikā, 18th kārikā). He also mentions in the Triṃśikā (kārikā 14), among the mental concomitants, styāna and middha. Later in kārikā 16, he says that mental consciousness exists all the time except in some (five) states in which the state of *torpor* is mentioned, when consciousness does not exist (middhāt..........acittakāt).

18. Sthiramati, a later Commentator of the 6th or 7th century A.D. while commenting on Styāna explains (*Triṃśatikā-Bhāṣya*, p. 32) it as indisposition of mind for work (cittasyākarmaṇyatā) on account of which the mind becomes sluggish (yad yogāt cittaṃ jaḍī bhavati). Middha also he explains as 'asvatantravṛtticetaso 'bhisaṃkṣepaḥ',—the contraction of mind by which all independence of action is lost ; or as alternative interpreta-

tion, the tendency of mind which prevents the sustenance of body and mind (kāyacittasandhāraṇāsamarthā vā vṛttiḥ). Elsewhere (pp. 32-33), he mentions middha both as defiled (kliṣṭa) or undefiled (akliṣṭa). While commenting on kārikā 16, the author also admits that middha is called *a-cittaka* when temporarily mental consciousness ceases to exist because its *āśraya* is struck down by stupor or deep slumber (A-cittakam middhaṃ gāḍhamiddhopahatattvādāśrayasya tāvatkālaṃ manovijñānāpravṛtter acittakam ityucyate). Both, however, are the part of delusion (mohāṃśika).

19. Yaśomitra, in his Commentary, *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, often refers to styāna and middha. In one place (WOGIHARA'S ed. p. 30, *Cm.* on ii. 26), he goes to the length of styling even styāna as material (*kāyika*) when it is associated with five consciousnesses (of the eye, ear, nose etc.):

"Yathā vedanā rūpīndriyāśrayatvāt caitasyapi kāyikī ti vyākhyātā, tathā *kāyikaṃ* styānaṃ. Pañcavijñānakāya-samprayuktaṃ styānaṃ kāyikam ityucyate."

DE LA VALLÉ POUSSIN (ii. 161) quotes a passage from Abhīdarma (Jñānaprasthāna 2. 9) which also refers to styāna as material and non-material. Yaśomitra further says (WOG. p. 494, Cm. on V. 47) that styāna means the indisposition of *body* and *mind* (kāya-citt-ākarmaṇyatā). Middha is defined, in partial agreement with Sthiramati, as the contraction of mind which is not able to sustain the body (kāya-sandhāraṇāsamartha). Middha is declared to be good, evil, or indeterminate and only that which is evil is called paryavasthāna. Both of them are described as dangers to concentration and wisdom. They prove an obstacle to quiescence.[1] Styāna belongs to the realm of kleśas (taints), while middha, as said above, can be good, bad, or indeterminate. This last is opposed to the view of the Pali Orthodox theorists according to whom middha is only *evil*. There is also a reference to a view that middha belongs to the realm of the pleasure of the senses (Kāmādhātor ūrdhvaṃ middhābhāvat)—a view which is opposed to the view of Pali authorities. [See argument no. xv both of *Aṭṭhasālinī* (§10) as well as of Dhammapāla (§13).]. Styāna and middha cannot be helpful to penetrative insight.

The styāna is represented to be the worse of the two. It soils the mind while the other can belong to any of the three types, good, bad or indeterminate. One who is given over to styāna-middha will never have too much of it, like one who is addicted to drinking or one who is given to the life of unchastity. [Trīṇi sthānāni pratisevamānasya (vl. pratiṣedhamānasya, according to WOGIHARA] nāsti tṛptir vā, alantā vā. paryāptir vā madyaṃ,

1. It may be added in passing that in Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*, a list of obstacles to Samādhi is given in which we find *styāna* and *ālasya* mentioned:

"Vyādhi-*styāna*-saṁśaya-pramād*ālasyā*virati-bhrāntidarśanālabdhabhūmikatvānavasthitatvāni cittavikṣepās te'ntarāyāḥ". (*Yoga-Sūtra* i. 30).

The Bhāṣya on it explains styāna as akarmaṇyatā cittasya, while ālasya is explained as *kāyasya cittasya* ca gurutvād apravṛttiḥ.

abrahmacaryaṃ, *styāna-middhañ* ceti.] With this may be compared A. i. 261 "*Soppassa,* Bhikkhave, patisevanāya natthi titti, ; surāmerayapānassa . . . . ; methuna-samāpattiyā. . . . ."

According to Yogācāra School, styāna belongs to saṃyojita or derivative kleśas, while middha is an indefinite (aniyata) mental concomitant. (YAMAKAMI, p. 224).

20. Now let us take a survey of all the material that we have given above and see what conclusions we can arrive at.

From the passages in the Nikāyas and other non-canonical but pre-commentatorial literature, we find that middha, as opposed to thīna, is considered to be an equivalent of niddā (sleep) tandi, (physical indolence), vijambhikā (yawning) bhatta-sammado (drowsiness coming from food), pacalāyikā (nodding), soppaṃ (slumber), and that it was an external rather than an internal dhamma. Even the interpretation of *Dhammasaṅgaṇi, Vibhaṅga,* and *Niddesa,* if interpreted *independently* of the Commentators, should make it clear that middha was considered to be more or less physical. For, if as the Commentators explain, the word kāya was really intended to be interpreted in the sense of nāmakāya, where was the need of giving a separate, independent paragraph with the additional varying words in the explanation of middha? Can we think of nāmakāya as having an existence independent of citta? The orthodox theorist wanted to stick to the words 'thīna-*middha*' mentioned among the nīvaraṇas, which has to be given up, and in order to avoid the difficulty of explaining the word 'kāya' he had to give this new interpretation. There arose the necessity of resorting to the jugglery of words. When he was further faced with the use of words like 'soppaṃ, pacalāyikā' he tried to wriggle out by saying that they are not the exact equivalents of middha, but that they, figuratively, represent the *effect* for the cause. They explain that the sleep of the Blessed One is not the result of middha but of physical exhaustion or languor, which perhaps, the opponent would say, is nothing but another term for middha.

21. The opponents, on the other hand, did not assert that middha was *entirely* a material quality. They admitted that there is a middha produced from mind (cittaja, para. 10). In Dhammapāla's arguments (para. 13. ii.) the opponent admits the existence of two kinds of middha, material, as well as non-material. But he was not prepared to accede to the position of the orthodox theorist of the entire annihilation of the material middha. He also pins the orthodox theorist down to the use of the words 'Kāyassa, soppaṃ, pacalāyikā, onāho (shrouding)' in the definition of middha ; to the quotations like "Form, O mendicants is not yours; you should give it up" (para. 10) or to the Blessed One's words to Aggivessana that he had slept by day-time in the summer season. What really appears to us to be the origin of this controversy about the material or non-material nature of middha is that each side insisted on emphasising upon only *one* aspect of this factor and that attention was paid more to the words than to the spirit behind the words.

22. Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta are emphatic in declaring middha to be a non-material quality although the former also admits as an alternative, that it manifests itself in nodding; he also explains middhasukha as niddā-sukha. Dhammapāla generally follows Buddhaghosa, though in one place, as we have noticed above (para 12) he admits that middha affects the *body* as well as three khandhas, sensation and the rest.

When we come to the Buddhist Sanskrit sources, we find that the Āryaratnameghasūtra quoted in *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (para. 13) favours the interpretation of middha as a physical quality, while Vasubandhu and Sthiramati like Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla, would interpret it as a mental quality. Sthiramati, however, remarks in one place (§18) that even *middha* becomes *non-material* (*a-cittaka*) under certain circumstances. Yaśomitra interprets middha as a state of mind which does not enable one to sustain one's body. This interpretation is also accepted by Sthiramati, as an alternative interpretation, except that he adds 'mind' to 'body'. We have, however, noticed one curious interpretation---that of styāna. Yaśomitra explains *styāna* also as a material as well as non-material quality. For this there appears to be an authority of Jñānaprasthāna (para. 19). This, perhaps comes on the Pali orthodox theorists with vengeance. For they would never accept styāna being interpreted as a material quality; and in the foregoing material we did not find any other authority for this interpretation.

24. Thus it will be seen that about the two factors, thīna and middha, which were allied together, the orthodox tradition belonging to the Mahāvihāra school in Ceylon, represented by Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla (with which Vasubandhu and Sthiramati also agreed) believed that both were the mental states inasmuch as they have been styled as nīvaraṇas which have got to be given up before one attains Arhatship. There were, however, others who would not accept this interpretation. They were called Middhavādins (para. 11) by these orthodox theorists. Their point-of-view was represented by *Milindapañha, Peṭakopadesa, Vimuttimagga* etc.

25. Who then were these Middhavādins? Is there any evidence to identify them? Yes, there is. Dhammapāla in his Commentary on Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* XIVth Chapter, says (ii. 520) while commenting upon "ekaccānaṃ matena middha-rūpaṃ", "ekaccānan ti Abhayagirivāīnaṃ". So here is a clue. Several of the theories pointed by Dhammapāla, in his Commentary on *Visuddhimagga*, to have been adopted by Abhayagirivāsins have been discovered in the *Vimuttimagga*[1] and this theory of middha as a rūpa is also referred to in that book. As these Abhayagirivāsins were the rivals[2] of the Mahāvihāravāsins in Ceylon, we can very well imagine why

1. See *Vimuttimagga*, pp. 24, 49, 95, 127.
2. For this, see my article 'Vimuttimagga and the School of Abhayagirivihāra in Ceylon' published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. v, part iii, Nov. 1936.

Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla have been so violently opposed to this theory and are so emphatic in their denunciation of it. This clue given by Dhammapāla is further corroborated by the Commentary, called *Aṭṭhasālinī-Yojanā*, *on Aṭṭhasālinī*. In the latter book, the author does refer (p. 340) to the view of the middha-rūpa held by 'some'. The Commentary while commenting on 'some' says : Kecī ti Abhayagirivāsino.[1] This evidence, however, may not be considered as an independent one as the author of this Commentary is a very late Commentator of about the fourteenth Century A.D. from Burma. He may therefore, have taken this information from Dhammapāla himself.

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1. P. 183, Bur. ed. published by Zabu Meit Swe Press.

THE COSMOGRAPHICAL EPISODE IN MAHĀBHĀRATA AND PADMAPURĀṆA

By

S. K. BELVALKAR, Benares.

The description of the actual Kuru-Pāṇḍava war in the *Mahābhārata* begins with the Bhīṣmaparvan, and the account in that Parvan is very properly preceded by a geographical picture of the world as then known, from the different parts of which the belligerents came to try issues on the fatal battlefield of Kurukṣetra. The text is thrown into the form of a dialogue between the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the father of the Kauravas, and Sañjaya the Sūta (bard or charioteer) who "visualises" and reports the diverse events as they take place on the battlefield and elsewhere. The gifted Author of the *Mahābhārata* has sought to secure implicit credence for the "report" of this old-world "war-correspondent" Sañjaya by investing him with the "divine vision" and granting him virtual omniscience in all matters connected with the story. Chapters 5 to 13 (12 according to the Vulgate or Bombay edition) thus constitute the so-called "Cosmographical Episode".

It is to be expected of course that this cosmographical account in the Epic would not materially differ from similar accounts found in the *Purāṇas* and elsewhere. If the cosmography in certain parts appears to us to be far too mythical, we have to remember that in its own time it was implicitly believed in, and no author who set anything in store by his reputation for veracity would make wilful changes in the account as traditionally received. The details might of course be abridged or amplified and the arrangement conceivably altered according to differing viewpoints; but in the main and apart from scribal errors and accidental repetitions or omissions, the cosmographical account can be normally taken to represent correctly the views and the beliefs of the author and the times.

We have already referred to the special circumstances that have led to the introduction of the cosmographical episode in the *Mahābhārata*. With the *Purāṇas* on the other hand cosmography forms a regular feature of their contents, and—as is to be expected—it would be more systematically presented by them. Instead of treating us for instance with a long list of river-names or names of peoples pell-mell (as does the *Mahābhārata*), the *Purāṇas* would arrange the rivers as taking their rise from specific mountain-ranges or flowing in specific directions, and the peoples as occupying severally the regions to the North, to the South, and so forth. Can we be justified from this circumstance alone in concluding that the more systematic account is the older one and the probable source of the looser conglomeration of names in the other? The question can be argued both ways and is incapable of being decided offhand on mere *a priori* considerations.

What makes the problem more intriguing is the circumstance that there runs through the various cosmographical texts not only material agreement

(this could not of course be otherwise), but verbal coincidences, not spasmodic but covering lines after lines. The texts in question therefore could not all have been independent of one another. The whole question has been exhaustively dealt with by Dr. W. KIRFEL in his German treatise *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (1920, pp. 8 + 36 + 402) after a detailed investigation of the data not only from the *Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads*, and *Vedāṅgas*, nor again from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the different *Purāṇas* and *Upa-purāṇas*, but also from the several Jain and Buddhist canonical and non-canonical texts. The same problem as narrowed down to the geographical description of the continent of India proper was subsequently treated by the same scholar in a shorter monograph entitled *Bhāratavarṣa*, 1931, pp. 72.

Confining ourselves for the present to the post-Vedic Hindu cosmographical documents, Dr. KIRFEL finds that they fall into the following well-defined groups : (1) *Agnipurāna, Brahmapurāṇa, Kūrmapurāṇa, Garuḍapurāṇa, Liṅgapurāṇa, Viṣṇupurāṇa*, and *Śivapurāṇa* in its two recensions. These texts afford a shorter account showing certain inner textual correspondences which are held to point to two more or less related archetypal accounts. (2) *Brahma-(Mahā) Purāṇa, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Matsyapurāṇa, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Vāmanapurāṇa, Varāhapurāṇa* and *Vāyupurāṇa*. In these texts the accounts are longer and more systematic, the texts again arranging themselves into two main groups on grounds of internal arrangement and textual agreement. (3) The *Mahābhārata* and the *Padmapurāṇa*, which, on account of their intimate verbal parallelism, are going to be studied by us in detail below. A point to note here is that there are numerous lines and expressions which are common to all the three groups,—a fact which may substantiate the assumption of a basic original source for all of them. It is to be observed in passing that texts included within group (1) are by consensus of opinion regarded as much later in point of age than the texts falling under group (2).

Our immediate concern here is, however, with the cosmographical account which prefaces the *Bhīṣmaparvan*. A pupil of Dr. KIRFEL, Dr. L. HILGENBERG, has, in a learned German monograph, *Die Kosmographische Episode im Mahābhārata und Padmapurāṇa*, 1934, pp. 54+40, critically investigated the relation of the *Mahābhārata* cosmography with that given in the *Padmapurāṇa* on the one hand, and in the several *Purāṇa* texts on the other, and has arrived at certain startling conclusions. She says, for instance, that while the intimate textual correspondence between the *Mahābhārata* and the *Padmapurāṇa* accounts must rule out the possibility of their being independent of each other, a closer inspection has led her to the conclusion that it is the *Mahābhārata* account which is based on that of the *Padmapurāṇa* and not vice versa.* Secondly, the learned author tells us, these two allied cosmogra-

* The view that the *Mbh.* cosmographical episode is based upon the *Padmapurāṇa* was first put forth by V. VENKATACHALAM IYER in his *Notes of a Sudy of the Preliminary Chapters of The Mahābhārata*, Madras, 1922, pp. 250, 253. Mr. IYER does not seem to have investigated the problem thoroughly but has merely recorded his first impression.

phical episodes are themselves based upon the *Purāṇas* constituting group (2), while there are passages in them that would seem to establish their dependence even on the relatively very late texts falling under group (1). Dr. HILGENBERG concedes naturally that the chronological relation hereby indicated need not involve the entire *Mahābhārata*, but just the cosmographical episode before us, which is admitted on all hands to be amongst the very numerous additions and interpolations made to the original Epic during the process of its elaboration. The second part of this Thesis we will reserve for a later consideration. Here we take up the comparatively simpler issue of the relation between the *Mahābhārata* and the *Padmapurāṇa*.

Just as the *Mahābhārata* cosmography is thrown into the form of a dialogue between Sañjaya and Dhṛtarāṣṭra, so the *Padamapurāṇa* cosmography (given in the Ānandāshram edition in the first or *Ādi-khaṇḍa,* chapters 3-9 and in the Venkateshwara Press edition in the third or *Svarga-khaṇḍa,* chapters 3-9) is likewise thrown into the form of a dialogue between the Sūta and the Sages. Whichever text be the original, it is therefore evident that before the verses in the original are taken over into its copy, the vocatives and adjectives which refer to the hearer(s) will have to undergo grammatical change in Number. As a matter of fact such changes are consistently made from the one text to the other, and any resulting syllabic deficiency or excess is made good by the addition or omission of small particles or other words syntactically in harmony with the line. We assemble below a list (not exhaustive) of these parallel epithets :—

Mahābhārata	*Padmapurāṇa*	*Mahābhārata*	*Padmapurāṇa*
नृप	द्विजाः	नराधिप	द्विजोत्तमाः
विभो	द्विजाः	नरश्रेष्ठ	द्विजश्रेष्ठाः
प्रभो	द्विजाः	जनेश्वर	द्विजोत्तमाः
राजन्	विप्राः	नरेश्वर	द्विजोत्तमाः
संजय	धार्मिक	विशांपते	द्विजोत्तमाः
संजय	सत्तम	विशांपते	तपोधनाः
संजय	सूत नः	महीपते	द्विजोत्तमाः
पार्थिव	सत्तमाः	कौरवेन्द्र	मुनिश्रेष्ठाः
भारत	सत्तमाः	भरतश्रेष्ठ	मुनिसत्तमाः
भारत	भो द्विजाः	भरतश्रेष्ठ	हि मुनिश्रेष्ठाः
कौरव्य	भो विप्राः	भरतश्रेष्ठ	मुनिशार्दूलाः
कौरव्य	विप्रेन्द्राः	भरतर्षभ	द्विजसत्तमाः
कौरव्य	मुनयः	भरतर्षभ	मुनिपुंगवाः
राजेन्द्र	विप्रेन्द्राः	कुरुनन्दन	मुनिसत्तमाः
मारिष	सत्तमाः	कुरुनन्दन	मुनिपुंगवाः

Mahābhārata	*Padmapurāṇa*	*Mahābhārata*	*Padmapurāṇa*
महाराज	महाप्राज्ञाः	कुरुनन्दन	मम धार्मिकाः
महाराज	महाभागाः	कुरुसत्तम	मुनिपुंगवाः
महाराज	विप्रवराः	राजसत्तम	हि तपोधनाः
महाराज	भो विप्रेन्द्राः	मनुजाधिप	द्विजपुंगवाः
महाराज	मुनिश्रेष्ठाः	मनुजेश्वर	द्विजपुंगवाः
महाराज	मुनिवराः	जगतीश्वर	मुदिता द्विजाः
महाप्राज्ञ	महाप्राज्ञाः	वंशवर्धन	मुनिपुंगवाः
अरिंदम	महाद्विजाः	कुरुवर्धन	द्विजसत्तमाः
जनाधिप	तपोधनाः	इह पार्थिव	मुनिसत्तमाः
जनाधिप	द्विजोत्तमाः	भरतसत्तम	धार्मिकपुंगवाः
जनाधिप	द्विजर्षभाः	कुरुकुलोद्वह	नाम तपोधनाः
नराधिप	द्विजर्षभाः		

In all these cases it would be difficult to determine whether the change has been from the earlier *Mahābhārata* to the later *Padmapurāṇa* or from the earlier *Padmapurāṇa* to the later *Mahābhārata*; and the same would be true of cases like the following :—

Mahābhārata	*Padmapurāṇa*
नृप (bis)	तथा or किल
राजन्	सर्वाः
परो राजन्	परतश्चैव
जनाधिप	जनः स्मृतः
महाराज	समाख्याताः
नराधिप	तथा नदीम्
मनुजाधिप	आयुषो विदुः
भद्रं ते	भद्रं वः
मे ब्रूहि	नो ब्रूहि
आचक्ष्व मे	आचक्ष्व नः
तेषां नामानि मे शृणु	तेषां नामानि वर्णये
उक्त एष मया राजन्	उक्त एष महाभागाः
यां तु पृच्छसि मां राजन्	यां तु पृच्छथ मां विप्राः
किमन्यच्छ्रोतुमिच्छसि	किमन्यच्छ्रोतुमिच्छथ
एवमुक्तः स राज्ञा तु संजयो वाक्यमब्रवीत्।	एवं तैः किल पृष्टः स सूतो वाक्यमथाब्रवीत्।

By way of contrast consider the cases given below where, on the assumption of the *Padmapurāṇa* text being the earlier, the motive for the changes introduced into it by the author of the *Mahābhārata* becomes inexplicable, whereas on the contrary supposition all becomes plain sailing :—

Mbh. VI. 10. 8— अजायन्त कृते राजन् मुनयः सुतपोधनाः ।
Pp. I. 7. 8— प्रजायन्ते च जाताश्च मुनयो वै तपोधनाः ।

Mbh. VI. 10. 12—सर्ववर्णा महाराज जायन्ते द्वापरे युगे ।
Pp. I. 7. 12— सर्ववर्णाश्च जायन्ते सदैव द्वापरे युगे ।

Mbh. VI. 10. 15—संक्षेपो वर्तते राजन् द्वापरेऽस्मिन्नराधिप ।
Pp. I. 7. 15— संक्षेपो वर्तते विप्रा द्वापरे युगमध्यके ।

Mbh. VI. 11. 19—यतः श्यामत्वमापन्नाः प्रजा जनपदेश्वर ।
Pp. I. 8. 18— यतः श्यामत्वमापन्नाः प्रजा मुदितमानसाः ।

Mbh. VI. 11. 33—ततः प्रवृत्ताः पुण्योदा नद्यः कुरुकुलोद्वह ।
Pp. I. 8. 32— ततः प्रवृत्ताः पुण्योदा नद्यः परमशोभनाः ।

Mbh. VI. 12. 49—श्रुत्वेदं भरतश्रेष्ठ भूमिपर्व मनोनुगम् ।
श्रीमान् भवति राजन्यः सिद्धार्थः साधुसंमतः ॥
Pp. I. 9. 39-- श्रुत्वेदं पृथिवीमानं पुण्यदं च मनोनुगम् ।
श्रीमांस्तरति विप्रेन्द्राः सिद्धार्थः साधुसंमतः ॥

The instances quoted in the preceding paragraph will give an idea of the extreme parallelism of the two cosmographical texts as also of the sort of minor verbal changes that had to be made to make the texts fit into their respective contexts. Now where there were so many minute changes to be made, it would be, humanly speaking, inevitable that the author of the secondary version would be caught nodding and betray his dependence on the earlier text. Dr. HILGENBERG believes that she has caught the author of the *Mahābhārata* in this manner. As we saw, the vocative *dvijāḥ* in the *Padmapurāṇa* must be represented by *nṛpa* (or the like) in the *Mahābhārata*. In one place, however, through inadvertance, the original *dvijāḥ* has remained unchanged. This would be a very serious indictment of the originality of the *Mahābhārata* if it were true. The reference given is *Mbh.* VII. 2b, which, after much futile search, was found to be a mistake for VII. 21b. The Calcutta edition at this place does read *dvijāḥ ;* but, as Dr. HILGENBERG herself points out, all other editions (and we may add all Mss. available to us) give the regular *nṛpa.* It is therefore too fragile a reed on which to rest so important a theory. Another case of the kind is *Mbh.* VI. 12. 3, where, Dr. HILGENBERG tells us, the vocative *mahāprājñāḥ,* which suits the *Padmapurāṇa* context, is given unchanged by the Bombay edition (Śaka 1784-85) of the *Mahābhārata* and by 13 Northern Mss. of which she seems to have been supplied with a

selection of variants. Unfortunately I have not with me the original Bombay edition but a reprint of it of some 15 years later. Here there is the regular reading *mahārāja*. Next, as to the Mss., Dr. HILGENBERG seems to have been the victim of some strange misunderstanding. For, as a matter of fact, none of the Mss. in question reads *mahāprājñāḥ* ! So much for the author of the *Mahābhārata* being caught nodding. What now about the author of the *Padmapurāṇa*?

In this connection I present Dr. HILGENBERG with the following two clear and unchallengeable cases :—

Mbh. VI. 12. 20—देशांस्तत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि तन्मे निगदतः शृणु ।
Padma I. 9. 20— देशांस्तत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि तन्मे निगदतः शृणु ।

Mbh. VI. 9. 38— अत ऊर्ध्वं जनपदान्निबोध गदतो मम ।
Padma I. 6. 33—अत ऊर्ध्वं जनपदान्निबोध गदतो मम ।

Can the singular verb *śṛṇu* or *nibodha* suit the *Padmapurāṇa* context? The author of the *Padmapurāṇa* has in fact changed *Mbh.* VI. 11. 8,

शृणु मे गदतो राजन् यथा श्रुतमरिंदम ।

into (*Padma* I. 8. 7)

शृणुताद्य यथान्यायं ब्रुवतो मम धार्मिकाः ।

and *Mbh.* VI. 12. 17,

यथाश्रुतं महाराज तदव्यग्रमनाः शृणु ।

into (*Padma* I. 9. 16)

यथाश्रुतं महाप्राज्ञा वर्ण्यते शृणुत द्विजाः ।

so that it cannot be argued that it was a permissible grammatical license. What is surprising however is the circumstance that Dr. HILGENBERG, who is otherwise a very careful student, has passed these grave cases without any comment whatsoever. The above two instances would by themselves suffice to controvert her whole thesis as to the relation between the *Mahābhārata* and the *Padmapurāṇa*. We have however yet other arguments to urge ; but before we proceed to these it is necessary to remark in passing that, if it can now be held to be demonstrated that the *Padmapurāṇa* is later than the *Mahābhārata*, the fact that the cosmographical episode in the *Purāṇa* comes in its proper context as a legitimate part of its contents, whereas in the Epic it has obviously the character of a later addition made during the process of the elaboration (*upabṛṁhaṇa*) of the *Bhārata* into the *Mahābhārata*, can have no bearing on the relative chronology of these two texts ; and this in its turn would weaken to some extent the case for the dependence of the *Mahābhārata* on the *Purāṇas*. Beyond this general observation we will not tackle that larger problem here.

The *Mahābhārata* cosmographical episode has certain passages that are absent in the *Padmapurāṇa*. These are :—

Mbh. VI. 8. 19—21 ;
Mbh. VI. 9. 1cd.—2ab, 3—4, 71—76 ;
Mbh. VI. 11. 3d ;
Mbh. VI. 12. 38—48ab, 49ab, 52.

All these (with the exception of VI. 11 3d and VI. 12. 38—48ab) fit in only with the situation in the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. HILGENBERG would say that the author of the Epic *added* these during the process of adaptation. In view of the evidence given above we must now say that the author of the *Purāṇa* was forced to *omit* these inconvenient passages that would not harmonise with its own specific context. The passages in regard to which an exception was made above contain certain astronomical questions (dimensions of the sun, moon, etc.) and the replies to them. There is nothing in them specially suited to the *Mahābhārata* context or situation. The *Padmapurāṇa* seems to have omitted them as the questions do not fall directly within the four corners of the *Bhūmikhaṇḍa*.

There is, however, one other rather important passage which both the *Mbh.* and the *Pp.* give, but which seems to me to belong primarily to the Epic situation.—Asks Dhṛtarāṣṭra (VI. 9. 1ff.) : "The land of Bhāratavarṣa to which my son is excessively attached and which the sons of Pāṇḍu are greedily hankering after : describe to me this land to which my mind clings with passion". To this Sañjaya feelingly replies : "I will describe to you this dear land of the Bhāratas which had in the past evoked passionate attachment from some of the greatest Royal-sages that ever lived"—and he then enumerates these great kings of old. The passage is conceived in a truly Epic vein and will bear being recited. I give below the text as constituted by me for the edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* on which I am at present engaged—

अत्र ते वर्णयिष्यामि वर्षं भारत भारतम् ।
प्रियमिन्द्रस्य देवस्य मनोर्वैवस्वतस्य च ॥

पृथोश्च राजन् वैन्यस्य तथेक्ष्वाकोर्महात्मनः ।
ययातेरम्बरीषस्य मान्धातुर्नहुषस्य च ॥

तथैव मुचुकुन्दस्य शिबेरौशीनरस्य च ।
ऋषभस्य तथैलस्य नृगस्य नृपतेस्तथा ॥

अन्येषां च महाराज क्षत्रियाणां बलीयसाम् ।
सर्वेषामेव राजेन्द्र प्रियं भारत भारतम् ॥

तत्ते वर्षं प्रवक्ष्यामि यथाश्रुतमरिंदम ।
शृणु मे गदतो राजन् यन्मां त्वं परिपृच्छसि ॥

The feeling behind the passage must have fallen flat on the interlocutors in the *Padmapurāṇa*. 'India (Bhārata) is dear to all the great Kṣatriyas, as you must know who are yourself descended from the great Bharata"—is poetry as addressed to Dhṛtarāṣṭra :

सर्वेषामेव राजेन्द्र प्रियं भारत भारतम् ।

The *Padma* changes the line into sheer prose :

सर्वेषामेव भूतानां प्रियं भारतमुत्तमम् ।

The passage apparently was a classic : the *Padma* could not afford to omit it. It has swallowed the eight lines of it wholesale, including the singular pronoun *te* in the opening line, which, for the *Pp.* situation, had to be *vaḥ* ! Dr. HILGENBERG has again failed to notice the incongruency.

There are three other passages which Dr. HILGENBERG has discussed in connection with her thesis. One is a single stanza and a half (*Mbh.* VI. 9. 24—25ab), which, Dr. HILGENBERG admits, may represent an accidental lacuna in the *Padma*. The second is a longer passage (*Mbh.* VI. 7. 21ab—28ab), the proper place for which should have been between the two halves ab and cd of *Padma* I. 4. 21. This is also conceded to be a lacuna in the *Padma* text, although, with a view to save the reputation of the *Padma* for accuracy, Dr. HILGENBERG clings to the hope that we may discover Mss. of the *Purāṇa* where the lacuna would be made good. But how came the lacuna to be there? The explanation would automatically suggest itself if we look at the *Mbh.* line immediately before the passage, viz.,

योजनानां सहस्रं च शतं च भरतर्षभ ।

and the last line of the omitted passage, namely,

नाम्ना संवर्तको नाम कालाग्निर्भरतर्षभ ।

In copying from the *Mahābhārata* the eye of the author of the *Padma* must have wandered from the first *Bharatarṣabha* to the second *Bharatarṣabha*—a very fruitful source of scribal errors—and so, instead of copying down the line following the earlier line-ending, he copied the line following the later and identical line-ending.*

The third passage runs thus in the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 12. 19) :

मैनाकात् परतो राजन् गोविन्दो गिरिरुत्तमः ।
गोविन्दात् परतो राजन् निबिडो नाम पर्वतः ॥

* For the first *Bharatarṣabha* the *Padma* substitutes *dvijasattamāḥ*, and it is of course *possible* to argue that the mistake of "homoioteleuton" or similar ending may have been from the existing *dvijasattamāḥ* to another (hypothetical) *dvijasattamāḥ* at the end of the (subsequently) omitted passage. But this lands us into the region of sheer speculation.

In the *Padma* the passage is longer (1. 9. 18cd—19cd) :

मैनाकात् परतो विप्रा गोविन्दो गिरिरुत्तमः ।
गोविन्दात् परतश्चैव पुण्डरीको महागिरिः ॥
पुण्डरीकात् परश्चापि प्रोच्यते दुन्दुभिस्वनः ॥

The names of mountains given in the *Padma* are in a line with the normal statements in the *Purāṇas,* while those in the *Mbh.* disagree and seem to contain some error of omission. From this Dr. HILGENBERG argues for the priority of the *Padmapurāṇa.* The line of argument seems to be as follows—

1. The *Purāṇas* are the ultimate source for both *Pp.* and *Mbh.*
2. *Pp.* agrees, and *Mbh.* disagress, with this ultimate source.
3. *Pp.* is hence prior ; *Mbh.* has undergone (subsequent) contamination.

We reply, *Non sequitur.* Rather from the proved posteriority of the *Padma* to the *Mahābhārata* we can now say that in cosmographical texts the agreeing or disagreeing of a given text with the *Purāṇas* is by itself of no chronological consequence.

If there be any doubt still lingering as to the posteriority of the *Padmapurāṇa* to the *Mahābhārata,* it will disappear by the following express statement of the *Padmapurāṇa* itself. Immediately after the conclusion of the present cosmographical episode the same Sūta narrates to the same Sages the names and virtues of the different *Tīrthas* (holy places) of India. *Padma* I. 10 opens as follows :—

ऋषय ऊचुः ।
पृथिव्या हि परिमाणं संस्थानं सरितस्तथा ।
त्वत्तः श्रुत्वा महाभाग अमृतं पीतमेव च ॥
तत्र भूमौ च तीर्थानि पावनानीति नः श्रुतम् ।
आचक्ष्व तानि सर्वाणि यथाफलकराणि च ॥
सविशेषं महाप्राज्ञ श्रोतुमिच्छामहे तव ॥

The reply of the Sūta is—

सूत उवाच ।
धन्यं पुण्यं महाख्यानं पृष्टमेव तपोधनाः ।
यथामति प्रवक्ष्यामि यथायोगं यथाश्रुतम् ॥
पुरातनं प्रवक्ष्यामि देवर्षेर्नारदस्य हि ।
युधिष्ठिरेण संवादं श्रृणुत द्विजसत्तमाः ॥
हृतराज्याः पाण्डुपुत्रा वने तस्मिन्महारथाः ।
निवसन्ति महाभागा द्रौपद्या सह पाण्डवाः ॥
अथापश्यन् महात्मानं देवर्षिं तत्र नारदम् ।
....
....
....
किं फलं तस्य कार्त्स्न्येन तद्ब्रह्मन् वक्तुमर्हसि ॥

Here the Author of the *Padma* himself tells us that his account of the *Tīrthas* is derived from the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Āraṇya-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* there is a long sub-Parvan called the *Tīrthayātrā-parvan* which is exclusively devoted to this topic (Bombay edition, Chapters 80—156) and Nārada is the narrator in the opening part of it. Nay, more. Even in the course of the short passage above quoted the text of the *Padma* in two stanzas (viz., that beginning with *Athāpaśyan* and that ending with *tad Bhavān vaktum arhati*) is practically identical with that of the *Mahābhārata*. Can it still be argued that what may apply to this *Tīrthayātrā* episode need not necessarily hold good of the Cosmographical Episode which precedes it? The law in such cases has been already laid down by KĀLIDĀSA [*Vikramorvaśīyam*, IV. 17 (33).]—

विभावितैकदेशेन देयं यदमियुज्यते ।

"He with whom a part of the stolen property has been discovered must restore the whole that has been imputed."

Post script : While correcting proofs my attention was called to a Dutch publication of Dr. J. GONDA, Bandoeng, 1937, offering annotations to the same Author's edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* in Old-Javanese (1936). Dr. GONDA refers to Dr. L. HILGENBERG'S thesis, but he subscribes to her main conclusion, supplementing it in a few minor points. It is therefore unnecessary to consider it in this place.

BRAHMANIC REVIVAL

By

D. R. BHANDARKAR, Calcutta.

As early as 1900 my revered father contributed an article to *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX. p. 356 ff., entitled 'A Peep into the Early History of India &c.' Therein he contended on p. 392 ff., that the most noteworthy feature of the Gupta period was 'Vigorous Brahmanic Revival and Renovation.' The evidence which he urged in support of his theory was then of an irrefragable character. This explains why his views are still accepted by a good many scholars. By now however evidence of another type has come to light which prevents our accepting this theory. It is this evidence that I want to show here in brief outline.

In Chandragupta II.'s inscription at Mathura and Skandagupta's Bihar and Bhitari inscriptions, Samudragupta is represented, says R. G. BHANDARKAR, as having performed the Aśvamedha, which is pointedly spoken of as having gone out of use for a long time (*cirotsannāśvamedh-āharttuḥ*). "This is the first instance of the Brahmanic revival under this dynasty". This achievement was considered so important that Samudragupta struck gold coins or medals, on the above of which is the figure of a horse let loose, and the title *Aśvamedha-Parākrama* on the reverse. Similar coins bearing on the reverse the legend *Aśvamedha-Mahendra* have been found. Mahendra was a title assumed by Kumāragupta I., as is evident from some of his coins on which his proper name as well as the title occurs. It seems, therefore, that he too performed the horse-sacrifice indicative of supreme sovereignty.

The present epigraphic evidence, however, runs counter to this conclusion. Even when R. G. BHANDARKAR wrote on this subject, the Nanaghat Cave inscription of Sātakarṇi was well known (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V p. 60 ff). Therein Sātakarṇi is represented to have performed not only a good many sacrifices, but, above all, celebrated Rājasūya once and Aśvamedha twice. This clearly indicates his rank as a supreme ruler. Slightly earlier than this record is that found at Ghosundi not far from Chitorgarh in the Udaipur State. The contents of this inscription also were fairly well known when 'A Peep into the Early History &c.' was published though it was critically edited much later in the light of two more copies found on Hathi-Bada at Nagari in *E. I.*, Vol. XXII. p. 198 ff. This also credits Gājāyana Pārāśarīputra Sarvatāta with the celebration of a similar Aśvamedha, as is clear from the text *rājñā bhāgavatena Gājāyanena Pārāśarīputreṇa Sarvatātena Aśvamedhayājinā* &c. The patronymic Gājāyana indicates that Sarvatāta was a Brāhmaṇ and perhaps a Kāṇva ruler. Sarvatāta is not a proper name and may have belonged to any ruler, possibly the last ruler of the Kāṇva line. But earlier than Sarvatāta was Pushyamitra, the founder of the

Śuṅga dynasty (187 B.C.). An inscription of this ruler was found some time ago at Ayodhyā which has *dvir = Aśvamedha-yājinaḥ Senāpateḥ Pushyamitrasya* (*E.I.* Vol. XX. p. 57). This conclusively shows that Pushyamitra, like Sātakarṇi performed the horse sacrifice, not once, but twice. We may thus take it that Brahmanism was revived with the advent of the Brāhman Śuṅgas to power, that is, long, long before the time of the Guptas. What then becomes of the expression *cir-otsann-āśvamedhāharttā* which has been used in Gupta inscriptions with reference to Samudragupta ? Some scholars regard it as an empty boast. But the expression in my opinion is susceptible of a better interpretation which will be set forth in the Volume of the Gupta Inscriptions, the revision of which has been entrusted to me by the Government of India.

THE TEN AVATĀRAS AND THEIR BIRTHDATES

By

B. BHATTACHARYYA, Baroda.

While editing the Chhinnamastā Khaṇḍa of the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra* I came across some very interesting passages in the sixth Paṭala wherein the birthdates of all the Ten Avatāras are given. This shows that at least in some quarters there was a widespread belief that the Avatāras were not altogether fictitious beings, but that they were actually born in this mortal world. We also learn that they were all incarnations of the great God Viṣṇu and they had each a special mission to fulfil after taking birth.

The birthdates given in the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra* are not such as can be easily converted to A.D. or any year of the Vikrama Era. The exact years can be ascertained only after strenuous calculations which I am unable to make. If some one can find out the dates from the data given in the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra,* it will be really doing a good service to scholarship. The date of Buddha can be established with some degree of certainty, and this may settle the controversy regarding his time once for all. The date of the future incarnation of Viṣṇu, namely the Kalki Avatāra, is most important since, in his time it is said, that the present Kali cycle will end and the Satya Yuga will be ushered in. It will be interesting to know when the present Kali age of sinfulness will end, and the promised golden age will commence.

The relevant passages are quoted below with translations. The text in many places being corrupt and sometimes inaccurate, the translation should be taken as tentative only :

कृते प्रभवचैत्रे च प्रतिपच्छुद्ध इन्दुना ।
रेवतीयोगविष्कुम्भे दिवा द्वादशनाडिका ॥
मत्स्यरूपी कुमार्यामवतीर्णो हरिः स्वयम् ।
शंखासुरवधार्थाय भूमेरुद्धरणाय च ॥

1. Viṣṇu incarnated himself as the Fish in the womb of a virgin in the Kṛta age, in the year called the Prabhava, in the month of Caitra on the 1st day of the bright fortnight when the Moon was in the constellation of Rēvatī, when the Viṣkumbha Yoga was on, and when the day had advanced only twelve Ghaṭis from Sunrise, in order to destroy the Śaṅkha demon and to rescue the world.

ज्यैष्ठशुद्धद्वितीयायां विभवे वत्सरे बुधे ।
रोहिण्यां बुधयोगे च दिवा घटीचतुष्कके ॥
हरिः कूर्मेण रूपेण ह्यवतारः प्रकाशितः ।
वेतालस्य विनाशाय लोकसंरक्षणाय च ॥

2. The Lord Viṣṇu incarnated himself as the Tortoise in the year called the Vibhava in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight

when the Moon occupied the constellation of Rohiṇī, when the Budha (?) Yoga was on, and when the day had advanced four Ghaṭikās from the Sunrise. The Lord took this incarnation in order to destroy the Vetāla and protect men.

कृते च वत्सरे शुद्धे माघमासस्य सप्तमी ।
रविवारे तथाश्विन्यां साध्ययोगे महेश्वरि ॥
दिवा च घटिकाष्टौ च वाराह्यायां स्वयं हरिः ।
हिरण्याक्षवधार्थाय भूमेरुद्धरणाय च ॥

3. The Lord Viṣṇu incarnated himself in the form of a Boar in the Kṛta age in the womb of a pig on the 7th day of the bright fortnight in the month of Māgha, on Sunday when the Moon occupied the constellation of Aśvinī, when the Sādhya-Yoga was on, and when the day had advanced eight Ghaṭis from Sunrise. He assumed this form in order to destroy Hiraṇyākṣa and to rescue the world.

कृतेऽङ्गिरा वत्सरे च माधवे च चतुर्दशी ।
शुद्धा च मंदवारे च स्वातीनक्षत्रसंयुता ॥
दशाष्टौ घटिकामध्ये दिवा स्तंभे बुधे शिवे ।
हिरण्यकश्यपार्थाय प्रल्हादस्थापनाय च ॥

4. The Lord Viṣṇu incarnated himself in the Man-Lion form in the Kṛta age in the year called Aṅgiras on the 14th day of the bright fortnight in the month of Vaiśākha on Saturday when the Moon occupied the constellation of Svātī, when the day had advanced by eight and ten Ghaṭis, and when Mercury was stationary. His object in this incarnation was to destroy Hiraṇyakaśyapa and establish Prahlāda.

त्रेतायां वत्सरे जाता भाद्रे च द्वादशी सिता ।
भृगुश्रवणयोर्देवि धृतियोगे तथैव च ॥
दशपंचघटीमध्ये दिवा वामन एव च ।
अवतारो बलेः कार्यो द्वारे तिष्ठति किंकरः ॥

5. The Lord incarnated himself in the form of a Dwarf in the Tretā age in the month of Bhādra on the 12th day of the bright fortnight on Friday when the Moon occupied the constellation of Śravaṇā, when the Dhṛti Yoga was on, and when the day had advanced five and ten Ghaṭis from Sunrise. In this Avatāra the Lord made himself stand at the door of Bali as a beggar.

प्रमाथिवत्सरे प्राप्ते तृतीया माधवे सिते ।
त्रेतायां शनिरोहिण्यां रामोऽभूद्रेणुकासुतः ॥
एकादशघटीमध्ये निशायां परमेश्वरि ।
अर्जुनस्य वधार्थाय ब्राह्मण्यपालनाय च ॥

6. The Lord manifested himself as Paraśurāma as the son of Reṇukā in the Tretā age in the year known as Pramāthī in the Vaiśākha month on the 3rd day of the bright fortnight, on Saturday when the Moon occupied the constellation of Rohiṇī and when the night had advanced by eleven Ghaṭis. In this incarnation his object was to destroy Arjuna and to give protection to Brahmanism.

त्रेतायां तारणे देवि वत्सरे मधुसंयुते ।
तस्य शुक्ला च नवमी चेन्दुवारे पुनर्वसौ ॥
शुक्लयोगे च मध्यान्हे दिवा रामो महेश्वरि ।
रावणस्य वधार्थाय ह्यवतीर्णो हरिः स्वयम् ॥

7. The Lord manifested himself as Rāma in the Tretā age in the year called the Tāraṇa in the month of Caitra on the 9th day of the bright fortnight at midday on Monday when the Moon was in the constellation of Punarvāsu and when the Śukla Yoga was on. His purpose in this incarnation was to destroy Rāvaṇa.

द्वापरे समनुप्राप्ते विरोधिवत्सरे शिवे ।
श्रावणे चाष्टमी कृष्णा विधुरोहिणि संयुता ॥
वज्रयोगे मध्यरात्रौ पूर्णः कृष्णो हरिः स्वयम् ।
कंसस्य च वधार्थाय अर्जुनस्य हिताय च ॥

8. The Lord manifested himself as Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the Dvāpara age in the year called the Virodhī in the month of Śrāvaṇa on the eighth day of the dark fortnight at midnight when the Moon occupied the constellation of Rohiṇī and when the Vajra Yoga was on. In this incarnation his object was to destroy Kaṁsa and to improve the condition of Arjuna.

कलौ च वत्सरे चैव खरे चाषाढके तथा ।
शुद्धा च दशमी देवि रविवारेण संयुता ॥
शुक्लयोगे विशाखायां दिवा नाडी च षट् तथा ।
बौद्धोऽवतीर्णो देवेशि ततः कलियुगे शृणु ॥

9. The Lord manifested himself in the form of Buddha in the Kali age in the year called the Khara, in the month of Āṣāḍha on the 10th day of the bright fortnight on Sunday, when the Śukla Yoga was on, and when the Moon occupied the constellation of Viśākhā, and when the day had advanced but six Ghaṭis from Sunrise. Listen to what will happen next in the same Kali age.

प्रवृत्ते दुर्मुखे देवि द्वितीया मार्गशीर्षके ।
शुद्धायां शनिवारे च पूर्वाषाढाविधौ शिवे ॥
वृद्धियोगे रजन्यां च घटिकात्रितये शिवे ।
भल्लासुरवधार्थाय कल्किरूपधरो हरिः ॥

10. In the year called the Durmukha and in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight when the Moon will occupy the constellation of Pūrvāṣāḍha and when the Vṛddhi Yoga will be on, and when the night will advance by three Ghaṭikās, the Lord will manifest himself as Kalki with the sole object of destroying the Bhallāsura.

It is true that in the Purāṇas some account of the births of the Avatāras has been given, but I have not seen such detailed description of the time as given in the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra.* This is the chief reason why I venture to publish this information.

EMPRUNTS DRAVIDIENS A L'ARYEN MOYEN

Par

JULES BLOCH, Paris.

1.

Selon M. C. N. JOSHI (All-India Or. Conf. Baroda 1933 p. 946), marathi *parī* " manière " aurait été pris à canara *pari* qui a le même sens, et qui en outre, soit comme racine verbale, soit comme substantif, signifie " se mouvoir, avancer ". Le mot canara trouve un correspondant dans tamoul *pari,* anciennement attesté comme verbe avec le sens de " courir ", comme substantif avec celui de " démarche " d'un cheval. Mais le mot ne semble pas se rencontrer en dravidien du Nord ; même *parugu* " courir " du télougou est naturellement hors de cause.

D'autre part il est assez largement répandu dans l'aryen occidental, comme on le verra en consultant TURNER, *Nepali Dictionary* sous le mot *pari*[1] (aux concordances citées on peut ajouter ḍingal *pari* " comme ", dont la forme plus ancienne est attestée par l'oblique *parim̐* du vieux guzarati, v. DAVE, *Guj. Lang. in the 16th Cent.* p. 158).

Le sens du substantif " manière " se raccorde aisément au sens verbal d' " aller " ; or c'est le sens du verbe prākrit *parīi,* que Hemacandra traduit par *bhramati* et *kṣipati,* le second étant apparemment le transitif de l'autre : si bien que les trois articles *parī-* du Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo, p. 700 pourraient être combinés en un seul ; car l'étymologie par skr. *pari-i-* est évidente et a été donnée il y a longtemps ; en prākrit le verbe fait groupe avec *aīi ṇīi,* v. PISCHEL § 493.

2.

Tamoul *kāy* " cicatrice," comme canara *gāya* et télougou *gāyam* " blessure " sont le mot prâkrit *ghā(y)a-,* cf. TURNER *Nep. Dict.* s.v. *ghāu.*

3.

Le dictionnaire tamoul de l'Université de Madras donne *pagaṭu* (c'est-à-dire *pagaḍu*) " grandeur, force " ; d'autre part *pagaṭṭu* " vaste " se rencontre par exemple dans le Puranāṉūru, et aujourd'hui encore la langue populaire connaît *pagaṭṭan* " fat, prétentieux ". Le mot, qui semble ne se rencontrer qu'en tamoul, est évidemment pkr. *pagaḍḍha* qui veut dire " grand " et en même temps " tiré ", donc l'équivalent de skr. *prakṛṣṭa*— ; cf. TURNER *Nep. Dict.* s. v. *kāṛnu* " arracher ".

4.

En canara, KITTLE distingue *maṭṭu* 1, *matta* 2 " mesure, limite, étendue " (*maṭṭage* " à la mesure de, jusq"à ") de *maṭṭa* 1, *maṭa* 2 " le fait d'être plat, égalité,' exactitude ". On trouve de même en tamoul *maṭṭu* " mesure,

quantité ; limite, extension," *maṭṭam* "mesure" et *maṭṭam* "égalité" ; et en télougu *maṭṭu* "mesure, limite" et *maṭṭam* "de niveau, égal".

Malgré le rapport possible des significations, il vaut mieux en effet distinguer deux séries de mots. Celle qui signifie "égal, etc." remonte à pkr. *maṭṭha-*, (skr. *mṛṣṭa-*) qui a récu en indo-aryen, comme on verra par TURNER *Nep. Dict.* s. vv. *māṭho* et *māṭ*. Au Nord brahui *maṭ* "égal on force" est emprunté au mot sindhi correspondant *maṭu* "égal, pareil", comme Sir Denys BRAY l'a bien vu.

S'il élait à la rigueur possible de dériver le sens de "égal" de celui de "mesure, limite", l'inverse paraît impossible ; il faut donc expliquer à part cette deuvième série. Or si pkr. **maṭṭa*, issue de skr. *mātra-* ne paraî pas attesté dans la littérature, les mots ci-dessus mentionnés témoignent qui'l a existé. Il n'y a donc peut-être pas lieu de considérer comme fautive la graphie *maṭavo* de Niya 278, dont M. BURROW dit que le sens indiqué par le contexte est "qui doit être mesuré" (*The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents*, p. 110).

5.

Le nom de la "chauve-souris" est chez Suśruta *valgulī* (l'agile, l'instable. la jolie ?). De ce mot le pali dérive normalement *vagguli* ; mais l'*Arthaśāstra* en donne une forme d'aspect tardif *vāguli* (v. J. J. MEYER, *Das Altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, p. 887). C'est l'état que conservant guz. *vāgoḷ*, mar. *vāgaḷ* ou *vāghaḷ* (l'aspirée sous l'influence de *vāgh* "tigre" ?).

De vāgulī on attendrait, à l'etage postérieur, une forme légerement plus altérée * *vāvuli*, * *vāvali* etc. Elle manque semble-t-il en indo-aryen ; mais elle est conservée dans canara *bāvali*, *bāval* et tamoul *vāval*, *vavvāl* ; aussi dans gond *ulṭwāl* où la première partie du mot est l'aryen *ulaṭ-* "se retourner, se renverser", allusion à l'attitude caractéristique de l'animal suspendu aux branches des arbres.

La *Hārāvalī* note du même nom une interprétation sanskrite, *vātuli* (la tourbillonnante, la folle ? cf. *Nep. Dict.* s. v. *baulāhā*) ; cette forme aussi a été conservée en indo-aryan moderne sous un aspect à demi-savant : hindi *bādur*, bengali *bāduṛ* ; et en dehors de l'aryen kui *baḍuri*, santal *bardūṛūc'*, aitéré sours l'influence de *dūṛūc* "reverser", cf. gond *ulṭ-wāl* cité ci-dessus.

IL TERMINE SAMKALPA

(NOTE ESEGETICHE)

Per

E. G. CARPANI, Bologna.

SUMMARY

Importance of the term *saṁkalpa* in Vedic philosophy.

Different interpretations of European and Indian Sanskrit scholars, viz. DEUSSEN, SENART, MAX MÜLLER, HUME, PAPESSO, Gangānātha JHĀ, B. G. TILAK, etc.

Esoteric interpretation of the term.

Sources (philosophical) : *Ṛg-Veda, Atharva-Veda, Upaniṣads, Genesis, New Testament*, etc.

Recurrent passages in the Upaniṣads.

Brahman and *Ātman* : Process of intense concentration on the inner self.

Modern science corroborates the conception of reality of the *Ātman* psychology.

Le varie interpretazioni del termine *saṁkalpa*, nella Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, non hanno finora messo in luce il significato esoterico di questo vocabolo, degno di un particolare studio nella storia della filosofia indiana. L'importanza assegnata dal MODI[1] al termine *akṣara*, dimostra chiaramente quanto si possa ancora ottenere dall'esegesi vedica e dallo studio filosofico della letteratura indiana.

Tradotto in più lingue europee, il termine *saṁkalpa* non ha rivelato, al mondo degli studiosi, quel significato che dovrebbe dare la *base* di un profondo potere ascetico all'iniziato. In relazione al testo (VII, 4.1) संकल्पो वाव मनसो भूयान्यदा वै संकल्पयतेऽथ मनस्यत्यथ वाचमीरयति तामु नाम्नीरयति नाम्नि मन्त्रा एक भवन्ति मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि, il DEUSSEN[2] limita la sua traduzione a un "*Entschluss*", senza peraltro dilungarsi nella nota alla versione, dove *saṁkalpayati* è definito "in der rechten Ordnung bringen".

Il SENART[3] sembra aver intuito[4] che il nostro termine merita una certa attenzione, ma nella sua traduzione mantiene dapprima la parola "*pensée*",

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1. P. M. MODI, "*Akṣara*", *A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy*, Baroda, 1932.
2. Paul DEUSSEN, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig, 1921.
3. Émile SENART, *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, Paris, 1930.
4. Infatti il SENART, *op. cit.*, p. 93, dichiara intraducibile il termine *saṁkalpa*. Egli cosi si esprime : "*Saṅkalpa* est à vrai dire intraduisible et 'concept' le rende mal : car de mot n'embrasse pas seulement des nuances de significations variées, pensée, concept, volonté.... il implique une manière de jeu de mots. *Saṁ-kalp* signifie d'une façon général 'se constituer, se réaliser'. *Saṅkalpa*, c'est la réalisation au moyen de l'esprit, c'est-à-dire soit réalisation de pensées, d'idées (=conception, imagination), soit réalisation de pensées dans les faits (= résolution, vo-

vuota di senso, poi è costretto a usare l'originale sanscrito. F. MAX MÜLLER[1] preferisce attribuire al termine un significato di "Volontà", "*Will*", "affermando che"....it is difficult to find any English term exactly corresponding to *saṁkalpa*. Rajendralal MITRA translates it by will, but it implies not only will, but at the same time conception, determination, and desire."[2] L'Indiano Gngānātha JHĀ[3] segue il professor MAX MÜLLER. Il HUME,[4] senza badare all'esigenza del termine, dà a *saṁkalpa* un significato puramente concettuale ("concezione") che ha l'aria di rendere definitiva la questione esegetica. La nota dell'indianista italiano PAPESSO[5] sembra seguire il DEUSSEN e il SENART, pur essendo chiaro il punto di vista personale di questo eminante studioso. Il PAPESSO infatti, dà carattere di decisione al termine *saṁkalpa*, decisione che determina il dirigersi del *manas* esplicantesi come volontà. "Il verbo *sam+kḷp*"—egli dice—"significa : 'essere nel giusto ordine, effecttuarsi' e al causativo : 'mettere nel giusto ordine, disporre', quindi, spiritualmente, 'ordinare le idee, concepire, immaginare' e, rispetto 'alla effecttuazione di ciò che è immaginato, 'determinare, risolvere'; *saṁkalpa* (termine che nel Sāṁkhya designa una analoga funzione del *manas*) è : "concezione, risoluzione, volontà', è la determinazione per cui l'attività dello spirito è rivolta ad un dato fine."[6] E così il TILAK, nello stabilire che *saṁkalpa* "....is sometimes made to include also the factor of decision."[7] Ma nel campo della filosofia upaniṣadica la parola ha una psicologia sua propria, e vuol determinare una *possibile* assimilazione di potenza creatrice, da parte dell'iniziato, che deve svincolare l'essere dai terreni limiti posti all'individualità.[8] È la parola che può raggiungere l'espressione del divino ed essere così il ricavato di una ascesi purificatrice (Cfr. S. Giovanni, 14, 24 :

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lonté). Mais *saṅkalpa* s'applique aussi bien à la production de la voix, du mot, etc. sous l'action de la faculté intérieure du *saṅkalpa* (répresentation et volonté) qu'à la production d'apparitions du monde extérieur. .. "

1. F. MAX MÜLLER, *The Upanishads*, S.B.E., Vol. I.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 112.
3. Gangānātha JHĀ, *The Chândogya-Upanishad and Sri Sankara's Commentary* (translated), Madras, 1923.
4. R. E. HUME, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, Oxford, 1934.
5. V. PAPESSO, *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (Testi e Documenti per la Storia delle Religioni, 7), Bologna, 1937.
6. V. PAPESSO, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
7. B. G. TILAK, *Gitā-Rahasya*, Vol. I, Poona, 1935, p. 181. Il TILAK mette in rilievo ciò che in psicologia potrebbe chiamarsi una *dualità funzionale* della mente, a proposito dello stesso argomento. "...the Mind is dual, that is, it performs two different functions, according to the difference in the organs with which it works....that is to say, it is discriminating and classifying (*saṁkalpa-vikalpātmaka*) in co-operation with the organs of Perception and arranges the various impressions experienced by the various organs, and after classifying them, places them before Reason for decision." *Op. cit.*, pp. 241-42.
8. Cfr. F. BELLONI-FILIPPI, *Due Upaniṣad*, Lanciano, s.d., p. 9 : "La parola rivela il concetto, che non è più la trasparente personificazione di singole forze naturali, ma la prosopografia della potenza creatrice, che tutte in sè le compenetra e abbraccia."

"*et sermonem quem audistis, non est meus : sed eius, qui misit me, Patris*"). Decisione, volontà e pensiero sono vocaboli i quali non possono dare al lettore non iniziato l'interpretazione del termine in questione. La lingua sacra dell'India, come ogni altra lingua che sia la base del pensiero religioso nella storia dell'umanità, è la chiave che darà accesso al tempio del mistero. A nessuna pergamena sono state confidate le estasi divine dei sapienti ; la sola tradizione ci ha conservato gli insegnamenti essoterici, formulati con l'intento di illuminare una parte dell'umanità.

Dall'Egitto, dalla Caldea e dalla Persia traeva le sue origini la tradizione d'Israele (tradizione occulta) ; essa, infatti, è misteriosamente conservata nella *Genesi* e nel simbolismo dei profeti. Prendere alla lettera la *Genesi* significa attribuirle un certo senso di puerilità ; essa nasconde invece un profondo significato simbolico, che può essere inteso soltanto con l'interpretazione della simbolica egiziana e con la comparazione dell'insegnamento esoterico, dall'India vedica agli iniziati cristiani. È dunque l'India vedica che ci mostra l'origine dell'esoterismo, anche se altri voglia affannarsi di volerlo veder crescere per primo in 'Egitto. La storia del pensiero scientifico indiano non ha nulla da invidiare agli altri popoli, poichè essa sola ci fornisce una documentazione inconfutabile di gran lunga superiore per produzioni scientifiche a quella di ogni altro paese. Teogonia, cosmogonia, fisica, psicologia e medicina sono scienze che hanno trovato in India cultori insuperabili.[1]

Accanto alle pratiche della scienza positiva (per usare un termine di classificazione occidentale,[2] nor troviamo le partiche della scienza occulta, di quella scienza cioè che pone la direzione delle manifestazioni teurgiche nel quadro delle possibilità umane. L'Atharva-Veda è appunto un antichissimo trattato di medicina indiana nel quale la magia vedica ci viene conservata fedelmente.[3] Conservata soltanto, in quanto nessuna teoria che offra qualche indirizzamento allo studio delle pratiche esoteriche a proposito dell'assorbimento di tale forza da parte dell'individuo, ci viene data. Ma rimane pur sempre comprensibile il fatto che i documenti pervenutici stanno a testimoniare necessità essoteriche, le quali comportavano il limite imposto alla divulgazione del sacro sapere.[4]

1. I recenti *Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts* di Warren R. DAWSON in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London, 1932 sgg., dànno un'idea della semplicità di tali studi di fronte alle magnifiche produzioni dell'Ayurveda. Per la medicina dell'antico Egitto vedi WRESZINSKI, *Die Medizin der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1909-1913.

2. Per l'Indiano, nulla è infatti più positivo del sapere spirituale.

3. Cfr. A. B. KEITH, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass., 1925, pp. 379-402 ; H. OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart, 1917, pp. 475-522 ; W. CALAND, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam, 1900 ; V. HENRY, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris, 1903 ; V. PAPESSO. *Inni dell'Atharva-Veda* (Testi e Documenti per la Storia delle Religioni, 5), Bologna, 1933, pp. 21-45.

4. Cfr. il passo evangelico "*Nolite dare sanctum canibus : neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos, ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis, et conversi dirumpant vos*" (S. Matteo, VII, 6).

Il RENOU[1] dà al nostro termine un significato di *pensiero concentrato* : volontà, immaginazione e volontà personificata sono infatti i termini che più si addicono a *saṁkalpa.* Non si può pretendere, d'altra parte, che un dizionario dia l'interpretazione esoterica di quelle parole alle quali è imposto un significato secondario che, secondo la tradizione, deve velare il significato primitivo.

Per venire ad una rapida conclusione, il termine *saṁkalpa* fa presupporre, a mio parere, un significato psicologico di grande importanza : il fattore di *decisione*, riconosciuto nelle possibilità mentali dell'individuo, non ha altra funzione se non quella di *determinare* lo slegamento dei corpi sottili dalla materia, dando luogo al ben noto fenomeno di *auto-coscienza* o coscienza indipendente da forze ed elementi estranei (ipnosi, magnetismo[2] ecc.). Questo grado di perfezionamento psichico, posseduto da tutti gli iniziati, prelude al *samādhi,* fase conclusiva della visione sovrumana.

Non è il caso di trattare a fondo questo fenomeno psicologico già riconosciuto dalla scienza moderna, perchè troppi sono i limiti imposti a questo breve articolo. É pero necessario dire col RIBOT[3] che le idee hanno un carattere oggettivo.[4]

Passiamo ora all'analisi del termine in relazione ai testi upaniṣadici. Il precitato passo VII, 4.1 della Chāndogya-Upaniṣad sembra risolversi nelle sezioni 1-15 della lettura medesima. In questa lettura vi è l'enumerazione di 15 enti, posti come gli equivalenti del *Brahman,* che formano la parte migliore della discussione nel dialogo di Sanatkumāra e Nārada :[5]

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1. *Dictionnaire Sanskrit-Français* par N. STCHOUPAK, L. NITTI et RENOU. Debbo certe " ricorrenze " del termine ad una particolareggiata informazione della signora STCHOUPAK, dell'*Institut de Civilisation Indienne.* Sono dunque assai lieto di poterla ringraziare pubblicamente.

2. Per dimostrare come l'individuo *tende* all'auto-coscienza di un ordine superiore di cose, ho esercitato *l'ipnosi* su vari soggetti poco adatti a percepire l'ipnotismo e, d'altra parte, atti ad assorbire influenze magnetiche, ottenendo, il più delle volte, fenomeni negativi alle suggestioni post-ipnotiche. Simili esperienze mi hanno convinto, dopo lunghe e pazienti osservazioni, della tendenza che assume un soggetto inadatto all'ipnosi all'*auto-percezione* di fenomeni estranei all'ambiente ove ha luogo l'esperimento.

3. Cfr. Th. RIBOT, *Les maladies de la personnalité,* Paris, 1932, p. 138.

4. La natura della coscienza, l'importanza del fattore psichico, i sensi del corpo, i casi di doppia personalità, le depressioni e le esaltazioni della personalità, l'unità e l'identità personali come espressione psichica dell'unità e dell'identità dell-'organismo sono questioni e fenomeni altrettanto meravigliosi che concretano nella materia o per mezzo della materia quelle forze o influenze chiamate, a torto, astratte. Vedi gli esponenti maggiori sull'interessantissimo soggetto : BINET, *Le magnetisme animal*; JANET, *L'automatisme psychologique expérimental;* AZAM, *Hypnotisme, double conscience et altérations de la personnalité;* PAULHAN, *L'activité mentale et les éléments de l'esprit;* BINET, *Etudes de psychologie expérimentale;* JAMES, *Principles of Psychology,* ed i suoi numerosi articoli pubblicati dalla *Society for Psychical Research.*

5. Cfr. Bhagavad-Gītā, X, 24, 26.

1. nome = *nāman*
2. parola = *vāc*
3. intelletto = *manas*
4. decisione = *saṁkalpa*
5. pensiero = *citta*
6. meditazione = *dhyāna*
7. conoscenza = *vijñāna*
8. forza = *bala*
9. cibo = *anna*
10. acqua = *ap* [*āpaḥ*]
11. calore = *tejas*
12. spazio = *ākāśa*
13. memoria = *smara*
14. speranza = *āśā*
15. alito vitale = *prāṇa*

Gli enti 1 = 7, 13 = 15 si riferiscono alla vita psichica ; i termini denotanti gli enti 8 = 11 si riferiscono al mondo fisico. "L'*ākāśa* è lo spazio libero, visible, che viene, anch'esso pensato come una sostanza ; corrisponde quindi press'a poco a quel che è indicato dalla parola etere" (PAPESSO). I termini di queste sezioni possono in qualche modo riferirisi ai termini delle sezioni seguenti (16 = 23) della lettura VII, e queste successioni di enti fanno ricordare, secondo l'OLDENBERG,[1] la formula di causalità del Buddhismo.

L'Aitareya-Upaniṣad determina la saggezza in un campo puramente psicologico,[2] e *saṁkalpa* trova la sua ragion d'essere in quanto si manifesta come un fattore rappresentativo in cui la concentrazione è sviluppata sotto forma di immagine (= ? Śaṅkara).

Nella Kena-Upaniṣad,[3] *saṁkalpa* assume la funzione di accentrare nella mente dell'individuo il *Brahman* (realizzazione del potere divino in sè stessi), e tale funzione mette chiaramente in luce l'importanza psicologica del termine.

L'*ātman* è ricettacolo di ogni risoluzione sotto forma d'intelletto ;[4] questa, la magnifica frase della Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (II, 4.11) dove *saṁkalpa* incontra forse la migliore soluzione. La Maitr.-Upaniṣad,[5] con una affermazione filosofica altrettanto bella, conferma il significato del precitato passo della Kena-Upaniṣad ; le qualità attribuite a Dio sono anche nell'individuo, poichè Dio si determina nell'essere ed è fuori dell'essere, e questo suo determinarsi è base di ogni sviluppo del singolo nel campo della conoscenza spirituale. Il *saṁkalpa* è proporzionato alle facoltà intellettuali dell'individuo,[6] e ciò è già stabilito nel passo della Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad, sopra riportato.

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1. H. OLDENBERG, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte*, Göttingen, 1919. p. 182 sg.

2. यदेतद्धृदयं मनश्चैतत्। संज्ञानमाज्ञानं विज्ञानं प्रज्ञानं मेधा दृष्टिर्धृतिर्मतिर्मनीषा जूतिः स्मृतिः संकल्पः क्रतुरसुः कामो वश इति। सर्वाण्येवैतानि प्रज्ञानस्य नामधेयानि भवन्ति ॥
Ait.-Up., V, 2.

3. अथाध्यात्मं यदेतद्गच्छतीव च मनोऽनेन चैतदुपस्मरत्यभीक्ष्णं संकल्पः ॥ Kena-Up., 30.

4. सर्वेषा ँ संकल्पानां मन एकायनम्.....B.A.-Up., II, 4.11.

5. अँथ यो ह खलु वावैतस्य सोंऽशोऽयं यश्चेतोमात्रः प्रतिपुरुषः क्षेत्रज्ञः संकल्पाध्यवसायाभिमानलिङ्गः प्रजापतिर्विश्वाख्यश्चेतनेनेदं शरीरं चेतनवत्प्रतिष्ठापितं प्रचोदयिता वैषोऽप्यस्येति ॥
Maitr.-Up., II, 5.

6. आप्नोति प्रज्ञया सत्यसंकल्पम्... Kauṣ.-Up., III, 2.

Il seguente elenco di *ricorrenze* del termine aiuterà il lettore desideroso di approfondire lo studio limitatamente al campo delle Upaniṣad.

Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka° : I, 5.3 (=Maitr.-Up., VI, 30) *kāmaḥ saṁkalpo vicikitsā.*

Śvetāśvatara° : V, 8 *saṁkalpāhaṁkārasamanvitaḥ.* Per il significato iniziale del passo cfr. Kāṭhaka-Up., VI, 17 ; Śvet.-Up., III, 13 ; Maitr. -Up., VI, 38 ; per *aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣaḥ* e *prādeśamātraḥ puruṣaḥ*—con riferimento al precitato passo della Śvet.-Up. III, 13—vedi il Mahā-Bhārata nei rispettivi luoghi XII, 284,175 (C. 10450 a) e XII, 200,22 (C. 7351 c).

Maitrāyaṇa° : VI, 10 *adhyavasāyasaṁkalpābhimānāḥ.*

Tejobindu° : XIII *saṁkalpaṁ ca vikalpakaṁ.*

Haṁsa° : II : *manasi saṁkalpa vikalpe.*

Muktikā° : II, 37 *saṁkalpa eva tan manye saṁkalpopaśame na tat.*

Saṁkalpaka—Amṛtabindu° : XV *manaḥ saṁkalpakaṁ dhyātvā.*

Saṁkalpana—Śvetāśvatara° : V, 11 *saṁkalpanasparśanadṛṣṭihomaiḥ.*

Saṁkalpādidharma—Sarvopaniṣatsāra : II *saṁkalpādidharmān yadā karoti.*

* * * * * *

La filosofia upaniṣadica, com'è noto, riconosce nell'individuo la presenza del *Brahman,* poichè con esso identifica l'*ātman* individuale. Ma *Brahman* è pure l'intelletto[1] e tutto quanto costituisce la vita fisico-psichica dell'uomo. *Brahman* è tutto questo universo, e questo universo è nell'uomo ; tuttavia il *Brahman* è in realtà uno.[2] Per quanto concerne la parte psicologica di guesta filosofia, il CHAKRAVARTI[3] così si esprime : " In arriving at the conclusion that Brahman was the sole reality and Ātman was Brahman, the process employed was a psychological one, but in a sense quite different from that employed by Kant and other thinkers of the West. It has been pointed out that by means of intense concentration on the inner self, the identity of Ātman and Brahman was discovered." Questo *ātman,* dunque, è il soggetto della conoscenza in noi, sceverando da esso quanto appartiene al mondo fenomenico.[4] Un forte senso di introspezione[5] caratterizza in-

1. मनो ब्रह्मेत्युपासीतेत्यध्यात्मम्... Chānd. Up., III, 18.1.

2. Quest'ultima concezione sembra trovar riscontro in quell'antichissimo monumento letterario dell'India che è il Ṛg-Veda .

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान ।

एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥ I, 164, 46.

3. S. C. CHAKRAVARTI, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Calcutta University Press, 1935, p. 76.

4. स एष नेति नेत्यात्माऽगृह्यो न हि गृह्यतेऽशीर्यो नहि शीर्यतेऽसङ्गो न हि सज्जते सितो न व्यथते न रिष्यति विज्ञातारमरे केन विजानीयात्... B.Ā.-Up., IV, 5.15.

5. Cfr. F. BELLONI-FILIPPI, *op. cit.*, p. 12 : " Come al sacerdote la meditazione sull'unità sostanziale dei molteplici dei, fu guida al filosofo l'introspezione, chè nessuno al mondo seppe, come gli Indi, far tesoro dell'aurea massima : *conosci te stesso.*"

fatti la natura degli Indiani, i quali hanno portato la conoscenza dell'Io ad un'altezza mentale di ordine superiore—base della più acuta psicologia nei differenti processi dell'indagine umana[1]—che non trova riscontro nella complicata teurgia egizia.

Infine il passo IX, 18.2(5) del Saṁdhinirmocana-Sūtra (citato nella precedente nota), di cui l'originale sanscrito è andato perduto, ci mostrerà ancora una volta un atteggiamento del pensiero psicologico indiano, fonte delle dottrine iniziatiche dell'India dotta.

ḥdi lta ste/mtshan ma legs par rtogs paḥi tiṅ ṅe ḥdsin (*nimittasuparīkṣakasamādhi*) la bsam gtan pa daṅ/yoṅs su rdsogs paḥi tiṅ ṅe hdsin (*paripūrṇasamādhi*) la bstam gtan pa daṅ/gñis kaḥi chaḥi tiṅ ṅe ḥdsin (*ubhayato bhāgasamādhi*) la bsam gtan pa daṅ/çugs kyis ḥbyuṅ baḥi tiṅ ṅe ḥdsin la bsam gtan pa daṅ/mi gnas paḥi tiṅ ṅe ḥdsin (*niradhiṣṭhānasamādhi*) la bsam gtan pa daṅ/çin tu sbyaṅ ba byas paḥi tiṅ ṅe ḥdsin (*suparyavadātasamādhi*) la bsam gtan pa daṅ/byaṅ chub sems dpaḥi sde snod (*bodhisattvapiṭaka*) kyi dmigs pa yoṅs su bsgoms pa (*paribhāvanā*), dpag tu med paḥi tiṅ ṅe ḥdsin (*aprameyasamādhi*) la bsam gtan pa de ni bsam gtan rnam par dag pa rnam pa bdun yin no/

"Le sette purità della meditazione estatica (*samādhi*) : i bodhisattva praticano le (seguenti) estasi : la concentrazione che penetra le nozioni, la perfetta concentrazione, la concentrazione bipartita, la concentrazione rapida, a concentrazione indipendente (lett "Sanza appoggio"), la concentrazione purissima, la grande concentrazione fissa sull'essenza (contenuto) del canone dei bodhisattva."[2]

É naturale che per il pensatore occidentale queste frasi non valgano a sostituire quell'inconcludente *metodo* di pensare e di complicar le cose proprio della sua filosofia, e però mi piace di terminar questo breve articolo con le parole del noto filosofo indiano S. N. DAS GUPTA : " Indian Philosophy viewed as a whole is fundamentally the Philosophy of life and practice whereas western Philosophy is largely table Philosophy for printers and publishers and readers studying at leisure."[3]

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1. Cito un passo del testo tibetano *Saṁdhinirmocana-Sūtra* (VIII, 29.8), edito recentemente dal LAMOTTE (Université de Louvain, "*Recueil de Travaux*", 2ᵉ Sér., 34ᵉ Fasc., Louvain, 1935) : "Le nozioni della non-personalità, del non-io, dell'idea definita e dell'assoluto sono di colui che conosce la vera natura dei caratteri."

2. Vedi il dotto studio di B. C. LAW, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Amsterdam, 1937. ...: " in *samādhi*, all thoughts are simultaneously and rightly centred on a particular subject. Its characteristic is absence of distraction, its immediate cause is firmness and its remote cause is happiness." P. 38.

3. First Indian Cultural Conference, 1936, *Proceedings and Addresses* (Address of Dr. DAS GUPTA), The Indian Res. Institute, Calcutta.

PROPITIATORY RITES FOR WARDING OFF THE EVILS OF OLD AGE

By

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, Calcutta.

Old age is to some people a great blessing—an occasion for the expression of joy and gratefulness to the Almighty for granting this not too common a favour. To others it is the harbinger of all sorts of calamities and physical disabilities leading to death. The former celebrate the approach of old age with feasts and festivities. The latter, though eager for a long life, are always haunted by the idea of a gloomy future, hastened by evil spirits who have got to be appeased by all means. Little-known rites consisting of the worship of the God of Death as well as of various deities, evil spirits and immortal personages of mythological fame (like Aśvathāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanumat, Vibhīṣaṇa, Kṛpa and Paraśurāma) followed by the feeding of and making gifts to Brahmins were sometimes performed by this latter type of people in the sixtieth and seventieth year of their life. These rites had the object of warding off the evils associated with old age. Ugrarathaśānti, Ṣaṣṭipūrtiśānti[1] and Bhaimīrathīśānti were the names of the rites performed respectively on the attainment and completion of the sixtieth year and reaching the year seventy. Though different in names the rites were almost identical on each of these occasions. Antiquity for these rites are claimed through their supposed association with divine beings and Vedic sages. Thus the rules regarding the performance of the Ugrarathaśānti are stated to have formed part of the *śaivāgama* and are available in the form of an interlocution between Śiva and his son Kārtikeya. Details about the Ṣaṣṭipūrtiśānti were, it is stated, put together by Śaunaka, to whom various ritualistic works are attributed. A work called the *Bṛhat-Śaunakīya* is again believed to contain the rules of Bhaimīrathīśānti.

The rites may be performed on any auspicious day in a sacred site. The worship is to be offered to deities made of gold, silver, copper or even earth according to the financial abilities of the worshipper. A number of Vedic mantras are used on the occasion.[2] After the worship proper, *homa*

1. These two rites were performed by Maharaja Sir CHANDRA SAMSER JHANG of Nepal in 1922 and 1923. The latter rite like similar other rites at every birthday is performed to this day by some people in South India in accordance, as they declare, with the rules of Śaunaka as found in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*. I am indebted for this information to Dr. V. RAGHAVAN of Madras.

2. परं मृत्यु इति मंत्रेण प्रधानजपमाचरेत् ।
स्नुहिट तमिति मंत्रेण अधिदेवं समर्चयेत् ॥
त्रियम्बकेतिमंत्रेण प्रत्यधीशं समर्चयेत् ।

(sacrifice) is to be performed with different materials in honour of the various deities. The worshipper is then to be bathed with sanctified water placed in a jar with one hundred holes, presumably symbolising a life of hundred years. This is to be followed by gifts made to Brahmins and the poor. Performance of these rites, it is assured, leads to a long life full of peace and plenty.

A number of small but apparently late treatises in Sanskrit giving elaborate descriptions of these rites are known to have come down. The manuscripts Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses five manuscripts of four of these works, while there is reference to several manuscripts in the catalogues and reports of Burnell, Oppert and Bhandarkar.[1] A short account of the manuscripts belonging to the Society will not be out of place here. The works contained in these manuscripts have two sections each—(1) *Pramāna* which quotes the main rules governing these rituals from some older work. (2) *Prayoga* which lays down the process of the rituals on the basis of these rules. The contents of the works are not only similar but occasionally identical even to the extent of the wording used.

The Society possesses two manuscripts of a work called the *Ugrarathaśānti*, one of which has been described by R. L. MITRA[2] and H. P. SHASTRI,[3] while the other belongs to the collection recently transferred from the Indian Museum (3051). This is in the form of an interlocution between Śiva and Kārtikeya and is stated to belong to the Śaivāgama. Ugraratha is stated here to be the 60th year of one's life, the advent of which fills a man with apprehensions and anxieties.[4] He is described as having a fearful appearance.[5]

Another manuscript of a different work, but of the same name, described by R. L. MITRA,[6] is also found in the library of the Society (2225). This is attributed to Śaunaka.

A manuscript of a work of the Ṣaṣṭipūrtiśānti, stated to have been compiled by Śaunaka, belongs to the same collection. It is not known if this

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श्रीसूक्तं भूमिसूक्तं च नमकं चमकं तथा ।
आपो ह्रिष्ठादिराब्लिंगैर्मुंचामि त्वेतिमंत्रतः ॥
एवा पित्रेति मंत्रेण पावमानीभिरेव च ।
शंवत्या स्वस्तिवत्या च आयुःसूक्तं तथैव च ।
इंद्रादीशानसूक्तं स्यादेते सूक्ताः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ *Ugrarathaśānti* (1914), fol. 3(-B.)

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. 680.
2. *Notices Sans. MSS.*, IX. 3234.
3. *Desc. Cat. Sans. Mss. As. Soc. Beng.*, III. 2574.
4. उत्पात्यब्दादुग्ररथः षष्ठीमोऽब्दः प्रकीर्तितः ।
यस्याविर्भावमात्रेण संसारी भयमाप्नुयात् ॥
5. करालास्यं विरूपाक्षमुग्रं व्याघ्रवरस्थितम् ।
शूलं चण्डमृगं पाण्योर्बिभ्राणं हृदि भावयेत् ॥
6. *Op. cit.* IX. 3233.

work is identical with the work or any of the works of the same name referred to in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. 680). Unlike other works it provides for the worship, among other deities, of Ṣaṣṭi and Mārkaṇḍeya, two popular deities of the present days.

A rather unique manuscript possessed by the Society is of a work called the ***Bhaimīrathīśānti*** which is stated to form part of a bigger work called the *Bṛhat-Śaunakīya*. It belongs to the collection transferred from the Indian Museum (3052). The word Bhīmaratha, the base of Bhaimīrathī, or rather Bhīmarathī, a derivative of the former, is well-known in Bengal, where in common parlour it is used as an equivalent of 'dotage' while according to the famous lexicon ***Śabdakalpadruma*** it is the seventh night of the seventh month of the seventy-seventh year of one's life. The work under review however says that Bhīmaratha is the name of the God of Death in the 70th year of one's life,[1] when he has got to be propitiated.

These works enumerate the infirmities due to old age as well as other calamities (like the untimely death of the near and dear ones as also financial losses) that approach one in the 60th and 70th year of one's life. Performance of propitiatory rites is expected to avert these.

1. जननात् सप्ततौ वर्षे मृत्युर्भीमरथो भवेत् ।
षण्मासान्मृत्युमाप्नोति धनहानिस्तथैव च ॥

LA PLUS ANCIENNE INSCRIPTION EN LANGUE CHAM

(INSCRIPTION RUPESTRE DE DỎNG-YÊN-CHÂU, PROVINCE DE QUANG-NAM, ANNAM)

par

G. CŒDÈS, Hanoi.

Les plus anciens documents épigraphiques du Champa sont les inscriptions du oi Bhadravarman I, dont le règne se place au milieu du IVe siècle A.D.[1] On peut même remonter plus haut, peut-être jusqu'au IIe-IIIe, si la célèbre inscription de Vo-canh[2] au non du roi Çrī-Māra, émane bien d'un souverain du Champa, ce qui n'est pas certain.[3]

Les inscriptions de Bhadravarman I et de ses successeurs immédiats sont toutes en sanskrit, et il faut descendre jusqu'au règne de Harivarman I (±802+après 817 A.D.) pour recountrer les premiers textes en langue cham : ce sont les inscriptions de Glai Klong Anök[4], et de Po Nagar de Nha-trang (813 A.D.)[5] qui emploient une écriture arrondie, rappelant de très près celle qui avait cours au Cambodge au siècle précédent.

En 1935, le R. P. LALANNE, missionnaire apostolique à Tràkiêu, site de la capitale du Champa avant le IXe siècle, signalait, à un peu moins d'un kilomètre à l'Ouest de l'ancienne cité, une inscription rupestre écrite avec des caractères à "box-head" identiques à ceux des inscriptions de Bhadravarman I.

La pierre sur laquelle elle est gravée est située sur une petite colline par 117 Gr. 64 de longitude Est et 17 Gr. 58 de latitude Nord. Au Nord de la colline coule verse l'Est un ruisseau nommè en annamite Suôi tre xú, "ruisseau des bambous", qui est complètement à sec en été. A 15 m. au Nord de la pierre inscrite se trouve un puits, qui aurait été creusé il y a une quarantaine d'années seulement. Un peu plus loin, à 25 m. de l'inscription, un liṅga de pierre mesurant om. 82 de hauteur sur om. 54 de largeur (à la base de la section octogonale) a été déterré au bord du ruisseau et envoyé en 1935 au Musée Henri Parmentier à Tourane. A l'Ouest de la pierre

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1. On en trouvera la liste dans G. MASPERO, *Le royaume de Champa*, 1928, p. 64, note 2.

2. Publiée par BERGAIGNE (*ISCC.*, no. XX, p. 191), L. FINOT (*BEFEO.*, XV, II, p. 3), R. C. MAJUMDAR (*Champa*, no. I, p. 1).

3. Cf. *JA.*, CCX, 1927, p. 186.

4. Publiées par AYMONIER (*JA.*, 1888, I, p. 77, et 1891, I, p. 23), L. FINOT (*loc. cit.* p. 8) et MAJUMDAR (*loc. cit.* no. 27, p. 65).

5. Etudiée par AYMONIER (*JA.*, 1888, I, p. 76 et 1891, I. p. 24), L. FINOT (*loc. cit.* p. 43 et 45) R. C. MAJUMDAR (*loc. cit.*, no. 25, p. 61) G. CŒDÈS (*BSOS.*, VI, pp. 325-326).

inscrite, et à environ 40 m., gît une pierre octogonale qui a dû servir de couronnement à une tour de brique écroulée, dont les débris jonchent le sol tout autour de la pierre inscrite et sur le versant Nord de la colline.

L'inscription couvre une surface mesurant environ 2 m. de long sur 1 m. de haut. Elle comprend 3 lignes de caractères ayant an moyenne om. 25 de haut. L'écriture est, je le répète, aussi semblable que possible, à celle des inscriptions sanskrites de Bhadravarman I, dont deux, gravées sur des roches dans le lit du Song Ba Rèn, ne sont distantes de celle-ci que de 2 kilom. 500 vers l'Ouest-Nord-Ouest.[1]

Le principal intérêt de cette inscription dont j'ai déjà signalé sommairement la découverte,[2] est d'être en vernaculaire. Il constitue ainsi le plus ancien document connu en langue cham, et nous fait remonter quatre siècles plus haut que les inscriptions de Harivarman I mentionnées précédemment. Antérieur d'environ trois siècles aux inscriptions malaises de Çrīvijaya (683-686 A.D.),[3] c'est même le plus ancien texte, actuellement connu, écrit dans un dialecte malayo-polynésien.

Si je me risque à publier ce document, dont je ne puis donner qu'une traduction provisoire et incomplète, c'est dans l'espoir qu'un confrère, plus versé en linguistique malayo-polynésienne parviendra à identifier les termes dont le sens reste douteux.

Voici ce texte, dont la lecture ne présente aucune difficulté :

(1) *siddham° ni yaṅ nāga puñ putauv ya urāṅ spüy di ko* (2) *kurun ko jmāy labuḥ nari svarggaḥ ya urāṅ paribhū di ko* (3) *kurun saribū thūn ko davam di naraka dṅan tijuḥ kulo ko.*

Pernons maintenant les mots un à un, dans l'ordre où ils se présentent[4]

siddham. Sanskrit, " succès ".

ni. Cham moderne *ni,* " ce, ceci ".

yāṅ. C. m. *yaṅ,* " dieu, sacré ".

nāga. Skt.

puñ. Mot embarrassant, au sujet duquel plusieurs hypothèses se présentent :

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1. Ce sont : 1° Inscription Hòn Cụ située sur la berge Sud du Sông Ba Rên, à environ 15m. au Nord et en contre-bas de la route (17 Gr. 5898 de latitude N. et 117 Gr. 6111 de longitude E.), publiée par L. FINOT (*BEFEO.*, II, p. 186) et R. C. MAJUMDAR (*loc. cit.*, no. 6, p. 9) ; 2° Inscription de Chiêm-sơn située à 600 m. en aval de la précédente, sur la même rive à 80 m. au Nord de la route et à 30 m. à l'Est du pont de chemin de fer (17 Gr. 5907 de latitude N. et 117 Gr. 6174 de longitude E.), publiée par L. FINOT (*BEFEO.*, XVIII, x, p. 13) et R. C. MAJUMDAR (*loc. cit.*, no. 5, p. 8).

2. *BEFEO.*, XXXV, 1935, p. 471.

3. G. CŒDÈS, Les inscriptions malaides de Çrīvijaya. *BEFEO.*, XXX, 1930, p. 29.

4. Pour les mots cham, je me borne à donner, à titre de comparaison, la forme dans la langue moderne. On trouvera dans le dictionnaire d'AYMONIER et CABATON des rapprochements avec les autres langues malayo-polynésiennes.

(1) forme vernaculaire de skt. *puṇya* "oeuvre pie", attestée ailleurs sur la péninsule indochinoise ;[1] la phrase aurait le sens de : " ce saint nāga est l'*œuvre* du roi."

(2) particule indiquant le génitif identique au malais vulgaire *punya,* mais construite autrement) : "ceci est le saint nāga du roi." (Hypothèse peu vraisemblable.)

(3) pronom personnel de la première personne, attesté en vieux-javanais sous forme **pun>pinun*[2] : "ceci est le saint nāga de *moi* le roi".

(4) titre honorifique *pu-ñ,* construit avec, comme second élément, le pronom de la première personne, comme cham *po-ku* ou vieux malais *pu-nta,*[3] mais en supposant l'emploi d'un pronom de forme mon-khmère tel que *añ* : "ceci est le saint nāga de *Sa Majesté* le roi".

putauv. C. m. *putau, patau* "roi".

ya. C. m. *ya,* "qui, celui qui".

urāṅ. C. m. *uraṅ,* "homme".

spūy. Inconnu en cham, mais rappell emalais *sĕpui, sĕpoi,* "doucement, gentiment". Le contexte demande un verbe, indiquant une action agréable ou favorable.

di. C. m. *di* : signe du locatif.

ko. Le contexte prouve de façon certaine qu'il s'agit du pronom de la 3e personne. Ce mot est sans doute à rapprocher de Minangkabau *iko,* "celui-ci".

kurun. Mot non identifié.

jmāy. C. m. *jamai,* "joyau".

labuḥ. C. m. *labuḥ,* "tomber".

nari. Le contexte *labuḥ nari svarggaḥ,* "tomber du ciel", prouve que *nari*=malais *dari,* "de (from)". L'alternance *n~d* est attestée, entre autres examples, par mal.-pol. *nau*~mon-khmèr *dau,* "aller".

svarggaḥ. Skt., "ciel".

paribhū. Skt., "insulter".

saribū. C. m. *saribău* "mille."

thūn. C. m: *thun,* "année".

davam. Inconnu en cham. Le contexte appelle ici un terme signifiant soit "tomber", soit "souffrir, cuire". Ce mot est peut-être apparenté à jarai *duam,* "avoir la fièvre".

naraka. Skt., "enfer".

dṅan. C. m. *daṅan,* "avec".

tijuḥ, C. m. *tijuḥ* "sept".

kulo. Skt., "famille."

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1. G. CŒDÈS, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam,* II, p. 33. La forme *puñ* est celle qui est en usage dans la langue môn.

2. KERN, *Verspr. Geschr.,* VIII, p. 140. Je dois cette référence à l'obligeance de M. Pierre DUPONT.

3. *BEFEO.,* XXX, 1930, p. 73, s. v.

Estampage d'une inscription rupestre
a Dông-yên-châu

Le texte peut se traduire ainsi :

" Succès ! Ceci est le saint nāga du roi[1]. Quiconque le traite doucement.......[2] des joyaux tombent du ciel ; quiconque l'insulte......[2] pendant 1000 annés (il souffre) aux enfers avec sept générations de sa mamille."

Le sens général de ce texte est clair. Il s'agit d'une formule imprécatoire promettant une pluie de joyaux à qui sera favorable au nāga du roi, et les enfers à qui l'insultera.

Quel est ce saint nāga ? Apparemment un génie, gardien d'une source. Si le puits moderne, signalé auprès de la pierre inscrite, marque l'emplacement d'une ancienne source, on aura du même coup une explication satisfaisante. Sinon, il faut supposer que l'édifice dont les vestiges gisent auprès de l'inscription était dédié à un nāga, qui était ou non le gardien d'une source sacrée. C'est, je crois, la première fois que le culet du nāga se trouve attesté au Champa.

1. Traduction vague, répondant en gros aux divers cas envisagés plus haut sub verbo *puñ*.

2. Ces points correspondent au mot *kurun* qui n'a pu être identifié.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE UNDER THE SENA KINGS OF BENGAL[1]

By

S. K. DE, Dacca.

In the period preceding the overlordship of the Sena kings, we have, side by side with some amount of Brahmanical writings, the growth of a peculiar and prolific Buddhist Tantric literature,[2] in the cultivation and spread of which mediaeval Bengal must have signalised itself, and which in all probability received encouragement from the Buddhist kings of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. But it is remarkable that with the advent of the Sena kings, who had Vaiṣṇavite leanings, this literature and culture went underground for all time.[3] We hear indeed of no suppression or persecution of Buddhism under the dominion of the Senas, but it was probably a part of their policy to encourage Brahmanical studies as a reaction perhaps against the Buddhistic tendencies of the Pāla kings. There cannot be any doubt that under the new regime of the Sena kings, non-Buddhistic Sanskrit literature and culture in Bengal received a fresh impetus. This might have partly been also a result of the general revival of Sanskrit learning, probably under similar circumstances, in Kashmir, Kanauj, Dhārā, Kalyāṇa, Mithilā and Kaliṅga. But the entire literary output of Bengal in this period covers practically the reigns of two kings only, namely, Ballālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena, and it confines itself chiefly to Brahmanical Ritualism and Poetry ; the New Logic, Brahmanical Tantra and sectarian Vaiṣṇavism emerging about three centuries later with the consolidation of the Muhammadan rule. In the meantime the Bengali language and literature, which were concerned in this period possibly with lost songs, hymns and ballads on the themes of Rādhā-Kṛṣna, Gopīcānd, Lāusena, Lakṣīṃdhara, Śrīmanta and Kālaketu, were perhaps slowly characterising themselves, so that from the uncertain beginnings of the *Caryā-carya-viniścaya,* they were transformed in the 14th century into the definite articulation of the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrtlana.* This story falls outside our province ; but we shall see that, even in its beginnings, the vernacular literature did not fail to exercise some influence on the theme, temper and expression of the contemporary Sanskrit literature.

1. Very able accounts of this literature in some of its varied aspects have long since been given by Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI and R. PISCHEL in the works mentioned below. The modest object of the present essay, which must necessarily traverse a great deal of the same ground, is to re-examine the available data and present, as far as possible, an up-to-date outline of the entire subject.

2. For an account of this literature, see *New Indian Antiquary,* i (1938), pp. 1-21.

3. The labours of H. P. SHASTRI and others have made it clear that Buddhism did not entirely disappear but lived, and is still living, in a disguised form in Bengal. The theory of its being persecuted out of the land, therefore, is hardly maintainable.

One of the objects of the Brahmanical ritualistic writing, which was meant to regulate the daily life of the people and in which the authors of this period and their royal patrons took undoubted interest, might have been to counteract the social and religious disturbances with which Buddhism might have threatened the very basis of the Hindu society. During the reign of the Pāla kings, whose official religion might have been Buddhism but who do not appear to have been intolerant of other faiths, we hear of only one well-known person, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, who was an avowed antagonist of Buddhism and of heretic dialecticians, and who composed works on Brahmanical ritualism. In the Sena period such protective works were multiplied, but we hear of no avowed hostility towards non-orthodox systems. The attitude is intelligible when we consider the possibility of an accomodating spirit, which in course of time appropriated Buddhist gods into the Hindu pantheon and also sometimes reversed the process. Even in the Pāla period, the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantra attempted to assimilate, instead of being hostile to, each other. As, on the one hand, Matsyendranātha was equated with the Buddhist Lui-pāda and transformed into Avalokiteśvara, while the Buddha himself was honoured by Jayadeva with a place in the list of the Avatāras of Kṛṣṇa, we find, on the other hand, Mahākāla and Gaṇapati worshipped and awarded several Sādhanas[1] by Buddhist writers, and the Liṅga cult and Śaivite gods recommended in the Buddhistic *Sambarodaya Tantra*.[2]

The Dharma-śāstra works of this period are, therefore, written more from the practical than the academic point of view, and consist of ritualistic manuals prescribing the various pious duties and ceremonies. The earliest of these appears to be the *Hāra-latā* and the *Pitṛ-dayita* of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa both of which have been considerably used as authoritative by Raghunandana. The first work[3] deals with the observance of impurity (Aśauca) consequent upon birth and death, its duties and prohibitions, the period for which it is to be observed, the persons who are exempted from observing it and other relevant topics. The second work,[4] intended for the Sāmavedic followers of Gobhila, is concerned chiefly with rites and observances connected with Śrāddha or funeral ceremony ; but it includes a treatment of general duties like Mouth-washing (Ācamana), Teeth-cleaning (Danta-dhāvana), Ablution (Snāna),

1. *Sādhana-mālā*, ed. B. BHATTACHARYA, GOS xli, Baroda 1928.
2. WINTERNITZ, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, ii, p. 400.
3. ed. Bibl. Ind. no. 1198, Calcutta 1909. The work is sometimes also called Śuddhi-viveka (MITRA, *Notices of Skt Mss*, ii, no. 949, p. 338, also no. 1001, p. 372), but this is only a portion of the work ; also noticed in H. P. SHASTRI (*Descriptive Catalogue* of ASB Mss, iii, p. 377, no. 2266).
4. ed. Saṁskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad Series, no. 6, Calcutta (no date, 1924 ?). . It is also called *Karmopadeśinī Paddhati* (see EGGELING, *Descriptive Catalogue of the India Office Mss*, iii, p. 474, no. 1553/481). The colophon of this Ms styles the author Dharmādhikaraṇika (Judge), while the colophon to the printed text of the *Hāra-latā* describes him as Dharmādhyakṣa, which has apparently the same meaning. The colophons to both the works designate him as Cāmpāhiṭi-(or Cāmpāhāṭīya, Cāmpāhaṭṭīya-) mahāmahopādhyāya.

daily Prayers (Saṃdhyā), Offering to Pitṛs and Viśve-devāḥ (Tarpaṇa and Vaiśvadeva), the periodical Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, as well as an eulogy of gifts. Both the works are in prose and contain a large number of passages quoted from old and new writers. The closing verse of the *Hāra-latā* tells us that Aniruddha was a resident of Vihārapāṭaka on the bank of the Ganges and that he was versed in the doctrines of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila). The colophons to the two works supply the further information that he was Dharmādhyakṣa or Dharmādhikaraṇika (judge), as well as a great teacher (mahāmahopādhyāya) of Campāhiṭi, from which place[1] a section of Varendra Brāhmans of Bengal derive their designation. Besides the Purāṇas and older Dharma-śāstra authors, Aniruddha quotes more recent authorities, among whom he mentions Bhojadeva and Govindarāja in his *Hāra-latā*. This would fix the upper limit of his date at 1100 A.D.; and the lower limit is supplied by the citations of Raghunandana (mentioning both the works and the author) and Govindānanda (calling the author Gauḍa) at about the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century. All this makes it likely that he was identical with the Aniruddha who is extolled by Ballālasena in his *Dāna-sāgara* (śl. 6 and 7) not only as a scholar far-famed in the Varendrī land for his piety and knowledge of the Veda and Smṛti, but also as his own Guru from whom he learnt the Purāṇa and Smṛti and at whose instance his own work itself was written.[2] This would place Aniruddha's literary activity in the latter half of the 11th century.[3]

Aniruddha's royal disciple Ballālasena,[4] appears to have composed four works, of which two are known to exist. His *Ācāra-sāgara* and *Pratiṣṭhā-sāgara*[5] are mentioned as already composed in verse 56 and 55 respectively of his *Dāna-sāgara*; and the former work is also known from citations in the *Smṛti-ratnākara* of Vedācārya and in the *Madana-pārijāta*[6] of Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa. But these two works of Ballālasena have not yet been recovered. His *Dāna-sāgara*, according to the author's own statement, was written under the instruction (*guroḥ śikṣayā*) of his Guru Aniruddha, but Raghunandana

1. That the place was in Varendra (North Bengal) appears from its mention in the Manhali Copper-plate (Dinajpur) of Madanapāla (*Gauḍa-lekha-mālā* pp. 147f, at p. 154).

2. See below.

3. In the *Proceedings* of the ASB, 1869, p. 137, a *Cāturmāsyā-paddhati* by Aniruddha is noted, while MITRA (*Notices*, viii, p. 154-55, no. 2700) mentions a *Bhagavat-tattva-mañjarī* on Vaiṣṇava theology. No personal details of the author are given, and it is doubtful if they are to be credited to our Aniruddha.

4. The opening verses of both *Dāna-sāgara* and *Adbhuta-sāgara* mention the king, his dynasty and his genealogy, which leave no doubt about the identity of the author.

5. From the author's own remarks it appears that the topic of gifts, which are to be made in different parts of the year, were dealt with in the first work, while the second work treated of the dedication of reservoirs and temples.

6. See KANE, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, Poona 1930, vol. i, p. 340.

believes[1] that it was the work of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa himself. The work is, as its name implies, an extensive digest, in 70 sections,[2] of matters relating to religious gifts, the author himself informing us (śl. 53) that he has dealt with 1375 kinds of gifts. It deals with the merit, nature, objects, utility, propriety, times and places of gift, bad gifts and prohibited gifts, rites and procedure connected with the making and accepting of gifts, the sixteen kinds of great gifts (Mahādāna) and the large number of lesser gifts. It contains (śl. 11-20) an enumeration of the Purāṇas and their extent, and gives valuable information regarding the texts of many works as they existed in the author's time. The *Adbhuta-sāgara*, which has been printed,[3] is an equally extensive work on omens and portents, their effects, rites and observances connected with them and means of averting them. It is divided into three parts according as the portents are celestial (appertaining to stars and planets), atmospheric (such as rainbow, thunder, lightning and storm) and terrestrial (such as earthquake). As in the case of the *Dāna-sāgara*, it attempts to cover, with copious quotations drawn from a very large number of authors and works, the varied aspects of the subject and bears evidence to the industry and learning of the compiler. It was probably left unfinished by the author and completed by his son Lakṣmaṇasena.[4]

1. *Ekādaśī-tattva*, in Raghunandana's Tattvas, ed. Jīvānanda VIDYĀSĀGARA, vol. ii, p. 44. That Ballālasena himself was a man of letters need not be doubted, for one of his verses is quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhara-dāsa.

2. Mss in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 542, no. 1704-05/719-20 (Bengali Ms) ; MITRA, *Notices*, i, p. 151, no. 278 ; H. P. SHASTRI, *Notices*, 2nd Series, i, p. 170 (extracts in all these). There is a post-colophon statement in the India Office Ms which says that his work was completed in Śaka 1091 (= 1169 A.D.). MITRA makes out the date to be 1019, which AUFRECHT (*ZDMG*, xli, p. 329) accepts, correcting the India Office Ms date ; but see R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Report 1887-91*, pp. lxxxii-xci.— The work is mentioned by the Maithila Caṇḍeśvara in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (*JASB*, 1915, p. 382), and several times by Raghunandana (*JASB*, 1915, p. 363).

3. ed. Muralidhar JHA, Prabhakari and Co., Benares 1905. The work is quoted twice by Raghunandana (*JASB*, 1915, p. 363).

4. We are told in the opening verses of the work itself that it was begun in Śaka 1090 (= 1168 A.D.), but was left unfinished and completed after Ballālasena's death by his son Lakṣmaṇasena, whom he had raised to the throne and from whom he had extracted a promise to finish the work. The India Office Ms of the work (EGGELING, *op. cit.* v, p. 1107, no. 3104/712—Bengali Ms) is incomplete at the beginning and at the end ; but the two Deccan College Mss (nos. 801 of 1884-87 and 231 of 1887-91) give the verse (see R. G. BHANDARKAR, *loc. cit.*), which is also found in the printed text and the two Dacca Univ. Mss no. 1246 (Bengali Ms), and 2314 (Devanāgarī). As this date appears to conflict with the post-colophon date given in the *Dāna-sāgara*, the genuineness of these verses has been questioned by R. D. BANERJI and others. In the text of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* itself there is mention of Śaka 1082 and 1090 in the sections on the portents of the Saptarṣi and of the planets Ravi and Bṛhaspati respectively (see M. CHAKRAVARTI 1912, pp. 343-44). These dates have led to a long controversy beginning from R. L. MITRA's time up to the present day, but we need not enter into it here. It seems, however, that whatever may be the value of the post-colophon date given in the *Dāna-sāgara* Ms, the dates given in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* are quite explicit and cannot be easily explained away.

Although not a Brahman himself, Ballālasena received as much recognition of his work in Bengal and other provinces as any professional Brahman writer of this period.

Both Bengal and Mithilā claim Guṇaviṣṇu, son of Dāmuka and author of a work on Vedic ritual, entitled *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya.*[1] The Bengal editor of his text makes out a good case for Bengal's claim ; but the evidence adduced cannot be regarded as completely decisive. It is probable that he flourished sometime before Halāyudha who makes considerable use of the work in his similarly planned *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva ;*[2] but Guṇaviṣṇu need not be much earlier. Guṇaviṣṇu's work is a commentary in eight parts on selected Vedic Mantras (about 400) used in the Sāmavedic Gṛhya rites. The eight sections deal, first of all, with the sacrament of marriage, and then with all the rites connected with the child from its conception (Garbhādhāna) to the end of the period of Vedic study (Samāvartana), exactly in the same order and with the same nomenclature as those of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa's *Chāndoga-karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati,*[3] the Mantras being arranged to suit the particular ritual ; but it also includes, after Aniruddha's *Pitṛ-dayita,* a treatment of daily Prayers (Saṃdhyā), Ablution (Snāna), Vaiśvadeva, cremation and funeral ceremony (Śrāddha), as well as a commentary on the Puruṣa-sūkta and its aplication to human sacrifice. It is probable that the commentator found the Mantras already embodied and handed down by a traditional Mantra-pāṭha, which Aniruddha might have also used ; for all the Mantras commented upon cannot be traced in the *Chāndogya-brāhmaṇa* or *Mantra-brāhmaṇa,* on which also Guṇaviṣṇu appears to have written a commentary,[4] but of which the arrangement is different. It is noteworthy that Sāyaṇa undoubtedly shows his acquaintance with Guṇaviṣṇu's *Mantra-bhāṣya,*[5] which must have, therefore, attained wide popularity by the 14th century.

The most important writer of this group is undoubtedly Halāyudha, but unfortunately all his works have not survived.[6] The few facts known of

1. ed. Durgamohan BHATTACHARYA, Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad series no. 19, Calcutta 1930. Also ed. Parameśvara ŚARMĀ in the Maithila Granthamālā, Darbhanga, Śaka 1828=1906 A.D. See description of its Ms in EGGELING, op. cit., i, p. 47, no. 280/2321a.

2. Halāyudha and Guṇaviṣṇu are mentioned together in the same verse in an anonymous Bengal commentary on the Rudrādhyāya (Yajurveda) noticed in *Catalogue of Skt. Mss* in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, introd., p. viii. Guṇaviṣṇu is quoted by Raghunandana. For other references see Durgamohan BHATTACHARYA's edition cited above.

3. Which is undoubtedly a Bengal work.

4. Ms in Cat. Baroda Central Library, p. 112, no. 9807a. Guṇaviṣṇu also appears to have written a commentary on Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra (Darbhanga Ed. of *Mantra-bhāṣya,* p. 174).

5. Sāyaṇa does not mention Guṇaviṣṇu, but cites him as *kecit* ; the citations closely correspond.

6. For an account of Halāyudha, see Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB,* 1915, pp. 327-336, KANE, *op. cit.,* pp. 296-301.

him are given in the opening verses of his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasa*. His father, Dhanañjaya of the Vatsa-gotra, married Ujjvalā and became a Dharmādhyakṣa or Judge. Halāyudha had two elder brothers, Īśāna and Paśupati. The former wrote a Paddhati on the rites relating to the Āhnika or daily devotional observances of Brahmans (śl. 24); while the latter wrote also a Paddhati on Śrāddha and kindred topics (śl. 24; also Benares Ed. p. 124), as well as another on Pāka-yajña (śl. 43). In his early years Halāyudha was appointed a Rāja-paṇḍita; in youth he was raised by king Lakṣmaṇasena to the position of Mahāmātya, and in mature years he was confirmed as Dharmādhikārin or Dharmādhyakṣa (śl. 10, 12, 14).[1] The Paddhati of Īśāna is lost, as well as those of Paśupati;[2] but a *Daśa-karma-paddhati* on the Gṛhya ceremonies according to the Kāṇva-śākhā of the Śukla Yajurveda is found ascribed to a Rāja-paṇḍita Paśupati in some manuscripts of the work.[3]

Halāyudha informs us (śl. 19) that besides the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, he wrote *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*,[4] *Vaiṣṇava-sarvasva*, *Śaiva-sarvasva* and

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1. In the colophons he is also called Āvasthika, Mahādharmādhyakṣa, Mahādharmādhikṛta and Dharmāgārādhikārin. His brother Paśupati is also styled Āvasthika. See *IC*, i, pp. 502-5, where our Halāyudha is made out to be a Varendra Brahman and distinguished from Halāyudha of Rāḍha.

2. One Paśupati is cited several times by Raghunandana (*JASB*, 1915, pp. 367-68), but his works are not mentioned. In the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhara-dāsa a verse (ii. 10. 5) is attributed to Paśupatidhara, but there is no reason to hold that he is identical with our Paśupati.—On verses quoted from Halāyudha in this anthology, see below.

3. MITRA, *Notices*, ii. p. 5, no. 528 (*Daśa-karma-paddhati*), the opening verse of which names the author as Paśupati and describes him as Bhūpati-paṇḍita. This may or may not be the same work as nos. 257 and 491 (beginning lost) of the Calcutta Sanskrit College (*Descriptive Cat.*, pp. 230-32, 441, called *Daśa-karma-paddhati*) in which the opening verse is missing, but the author's name is given in the colophon as Rāja-paṇḍita Paśupati. But there is no ground, except similarity of names, for identifying the authors of these two works with our Paśupati. MITRA'S Ms no. 742 in the same volume of the *Notices*, called *Vivāha-paddhati*, may be an abstract of his Ms no. 528 mentioned above; it is also ascribed to Paśupati. The anonymous Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms no. 244 (p. 220) may be a version of this latter work, while the incomplete Ms no. 304 (p. 280), entitled *Daśa-karma-dīpikā*, which has no colophon and gives no name of the author, deals only with Marriage and Caturthī-homa. A Ms of Paśupati's *Śrāddha-paddhati* is mentioned in *JASB*, 1906, p. 170, but of this nothing is known.

4. MITRA (*Notices*, iv, no. 1507, p. 102), as well as M. CHAKRAVARTI (*JASB* 1915, pp. 337-38), describes a fragmentary *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*, which is a commentary on the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra (going up to iii. 4). MITRA ascribes it to Halāyudha; but there is no colophon and no indication of authorship in the work. A Mīmāṃsā-śāstra-sarvasva, ascribed to Halāyudha, is edited by Umesh Mishra in *JBORS*, xvii (1931), pp. 227, 413; xviii (1932), p. 129. It is a running commentary on the Mīmāṃsā-sūtras up to the end of iii. 4. But no account is given regarding the work, author, or Mss on which the edition is based.

Paṇḍita-sarvasva.[1] The last two works are quoted by Raghunandana[2]; but none of these works appears to have come down to us. The *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva,* which has been printed,[3] is a work of great repute in Bengal. Halāyudha informs us that he wrote this work because he found that the Brahmans of Rāḍha and Varendra did not study the Veda and therefore did not know the Vedic rites properly. Its main object is to supply a guide, meant for the Śukla-Yajurvedic Brahmans of the Kāṇva-śākhā, to a knowledge of the meanings of the Vedic Mantras employed in the daily Āhnika rites and the periodical domestic (Gṛhya) ceremonies known as Saṃskāras. Accordingly it deals in forty sections with the various daily duties, such as the morning ablution, prayers, hospitality, the study of the Veda, and daily offerings to the Pitṛs, and then proceeds to the treatment of the periodical Ācāras including the ten sacraments of a Brahman's life. As every such rite involves recitation of Vedic Mantras, their explanation (Mantra-bhāṣya) forms the chief feature of the work. The author acknowledges handsomely his indebtedness to Uvaṭa and Guṇaviṣṇu, but he appears to have made considerable use also of the *Chāndoga-pariśiṣṭa* of Kātyāyana and the *Gṛhya-sūtra* of Pāraskara. Our Halāyudha should be distinguished from several Halāyudhas who also wrote on Dharma-śāstra,[4] as well as from the lexicographer, grammarian and

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1. A Ms of a *Paṇḍita-sarvasva* is noticed in *Triennial Cat. of Madras Govt. Mss Library* for 1919-22, p. 5162, no 3458 ; also *Descriptive Cat.* of the same Library, iv, pt. i (B), Madras 1928. The work deals miscellaneously with the usage of Varṇas and Āśramas, Tithi, Śuddhi, time for Śrāddha and other ceremonies, and so forth ; but it gives no name of the author. From the extracts given in the Catalogue the question of authorship cannot be determined.

2. *JASB*, 1915, pp. 329, 367, 372 ; see Raghunandana's Tattvas, ed. Jīvānanda VIDYĀSĀGARA, i, pp. 389, 531.

3. ed. Benares, Saṃvat 1935 , ed. Calcutta 1893 ; also ed. Tejaścandra VIDYĀNANDA, Calcutta B. E. 1331 (= 1924). We have used Mss nos. 791, 4236, K 554 of the Dacca Univ. Library. Mss also in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 519-520 ; Deccan College Collection no. 9 of A 1883-84.

4. e.g. Halāyudha quoted in the *Kalpa-taru* of Lakṣmīdhara (KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 296, 301 ; *JASB*, 1915, p. 335); Halāyudha, son of Saṃkarṣaṇa and author of *Prakāśa* commentary on Kātyāyana's *Śrāddha-kalpasūtra* (KANE, p. 301) ; Halāyudha, author of *Purāṇa-sarvasva* (written in 1474 A.D.) and son of a Varendra Brahman Puruṣottama (AUFRECHT, *Bodleian Catalogue*, pp. 84-87, nos. 143-44 ; EGGELING, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 1410) ; the Mahākavi Halāyudha, author of *Dharma-viveka* (H. P. SHASTRI, *Notices*, i, 195-96) ; Halāyudha, author of *Dvija-nayana* (MITRA, *Notices*, ii, pp. 66-67, no. 633), which is an astronomical work on the determination of auspicious time for ceremonies ; Halāyudha, author of a *Śrāddha-bhāṣya* (BÜHLER, *Cat. of Private Libraries of Gujrat, Sindh, etc.*, Fasc. iii, p. 130) or *Śrāddhapaddhati-ṭīkā* (*JASB*, 1915, p. 331) ; and Mahāmahopādhyāya Halāyudha, author of *Karmopadeśinī*, who was later than the 15th century (*Ibid*, p. 335). MITRA (ii, p. 79, no. 652) assigns to our Halāyudha a miscellaneous Tantric compilation, called *Matsya-sūkta-tantra* (apparently of the Matsyendra school) in 12 Paṭalas, on food, purification, Vrata etc. ; but a fragment of the same work noticed by him in the same catalogue (no. 608), as well as in other catalogues (AUFRECHT, *Catalogus Cat.*, i, p. 422 ; ii, p. 97 ; iii, p. 91) is anonymous.

prosodist Halāyudha, who wrote the *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā*, the *Kavi-rahasya* and the *Mṛta-saṃjīvanī* commentary on *Piṅgala-cchandaḥ-sūtra*.[1]

The contribution of Bengal to other technical Śāstras in this period is almost negligible. To philosophy it contributed nothing of importance. Although there was perhaps much scope in this direction for discrediting Buddhistic thought and ideas, Bengal obviously preferred practical ritualistic regulation to abstract speculative thought. To the grammatical literature, again, its contribution is meagre and uncertain. The only grammarian who has been seriously claimed[2] is the Buddhist Puruṣottama-deva, author of the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* on Pāṇini, but his affiliation to Bengal is extremely problematic. The only direct evidence is the statement occurring in the *Artha-vivṛti* commentary on the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* by Sṛṣṭidhara, a late Bengal commentator of the 17th century[3], who tells us that Puruṣottama-deva wrote his work under the direction of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, who wanted him to omit the Vedic rules.[4] That this statement is fanciful is rendered likely by the fact that in omitting the Vedic rules Puruṣottama-deva, himself a Buddhist,[5] was following the

1. L. HELLER, *Kavirahasya* (Diss.), Gottingen 1894, following R. G. BHANDARKAR (*Report 1883-84*, pp. 8-9), shows that the lexicographer Halāyudha lived in the 10th century, writing first the *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā*, then the grammatical poem *Kavi-rahasya* (A.D. 950), then the *Mṛta-saṃjīvanī* on the *Piṅgala-cchandaḥ-sūtra* under Muñja Vākpatirāja. See also ZACHARIAE, *Die indische Woerterbücher*, Strassburg 1897, p. 26 and Preface to AUFRECHT'S ed. of *Abhidhānaratna°*, London 1861, pp. iv-vi. Halāyudha's *Kavi-rahasya* has been edited by S. M. TAGORE, Calcutta 1876; also by L. HELLER, in two recensions, Greifwald 1900. His commentary on Piṅgala has been printed very often in India (Bibl. Ind. 1874; NSP, Bombay 1908); also in Roman transliteration, with translation, in WEBBER'S *Indische Studien* (Über die Metrik der Inder), viii (1863).

2. S. C. CHAKRAVARTI in the Preface to his ed. of the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1918; D. C. BHATTACHARYA in *Sir Asutosh Jubilee Comm. Volume*, iii, Orientalia pt. i, pp. 203-04. Various other grammatical works are found under the name Puruṣottama or Puruṣottama-deva, and the tendency has been to ascribe them all to this well-known grammarian. He is said to have written a Paribhāṣā-vṛtti, called *Lalita-paribhāṣā* (MITRA, *Notices*, vii, p. 166, no. 2402; Ms in the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi), a Uṇādi-vṛtti quoted by Ujjvaladatta, a Gaṇa-vṛtti and a Daśabala-kārikā. Other works are: *Kāraka-cakra* (MITRA, *Notices*, vii, p. 116, no. 2345, the author also a Buddhist) on the use of cases; *Jñāpaka-samuccaya* (AUFRECHT, *Bodleian Cat.*, p. 160-61, no. 353) which cites *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*; and even a Bhāṣā-vṛtti commentary on the grammatical *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* (MITRA, vi, p. 216-17, no. 2155).

3. So S. C. CHAKRAVARTI, *op. cit.*, introd. p. 10; but D. C. BHATTACARYA, *loc. cit.* assigns him to c. 1500 A.D. H. P. SHASTRI (Preface to *Descriptive Cat.* of ASB Mss, iv) speaks rightly of the unreliable character of Sṛṣṭidhara's statement. The authority of this commentator is also questioned by D. C. BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

4. *vaidika-prayogānarthino lakṣmaṇasenasya rājño ājñayā.*

5. As his invocation to the Buddha and references to the Bauddha Jina (iii. 3. 173), Bauddha-darśana and Bauddha-mata (ii. 1. 9; iv. 2. 114) and Sugata Tāyin (i. 4. 32) would indicate.

usual tradition of Buddhist writers :[1] and there is no reason why Lakṣmaṇasena, whose interest in Vedic ritualistic writings cannot be doubted,[2] should make this extraordinary request when such an omission is clearly disapproved by orthodox Hindu tradition.[3] The facts that the grammar had circulation in North Bengal and Mithilā[4] and that Puruṣottama-deva refers (ii. 4. 7) Varendrī are not conclusive.[5] If Sarvānanda quotes from the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*[6] as early as 1159 A.D., the position becomes still more uncertain. The identity, again, of the grammarian Puruṣottama-deva with the lexicographer Puruṣottama is plausible but unproved ; and the latter's belong-

1. e.g. Candra-gomin whom he mentions in vii. 2, 69. He professes also to base his commentary on the *Bhāga-vṛtti,* which admittedly makes the unorthodox division of Vedic and Sanskrit rules. The exact date of Puruṣottama-deva is not known. As he refers to a difference of opinion between Śruta-pāla and Kayyaṭa (circa 10th century) and as he quotes (ii. 4. 23) anonymously from the *Kīcaka-vadha* of Nītivarman (ed. S. K. DE, Dacca 1929, ii. 25d), which cannot be placed later than the middle of the 11th century, we can take the 10th century as the upper limit of his date ; the lower limit is given by the reference of Sarvānanda in 1159 A.D., which is discussed below.

2. Lakṣmaṇasena in his four copper-plates (Anulia, Govindapur, Tapandighi and Saktipur) is styled Vedāyanaikādhvaga , while his father Ballālasena is described similarly in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* as Vedāyanaika-pathika.

3. This Hindu tradition is mentioned in S. C. CHAKRAVARTI, *op. cit.*, introd. p. 7 , D. C. BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

4. H. P. SHASTRI, *Nepal Catalogue* I, Calcutta 1905, p. vi. More relevant, but not conclusive, is the one instance (S. C. CHAKRAVARTI, introd. p. 8) of Puruṣottama-deva's reference to the Bengali pronunciation of *b* and *v* ; but this trait is not peculiar to Bengal only. The other argument that he quotes the apologetic phrase of Bengal scribes *lekhako nāsti-doṣakah* (ii. 2. 24) proves nothing. All these arguments do not exclude the other traditions of his belonging to Mithilā and Orissa.

5. The Govardhana cited by Puruṣottama-deva in the illustration *up-govardhanam śābdikāh* (i. 4. 87) is certainly not the poet Ācārya Govardhana mentioned by Jayadeva, but a Śābdika who is cited by Ujjvaladatta, Sarvānanda and Rāyamukuṭa as the author of a Uṇādi-vṛtti. There is no ground for thinking that this Govardhana, as well as Keśava cited by Puruṣottama-deva (v. 2. 112), belonged to Bengal.

6. The two references to Puruṣottama-deva are doubtful. On Amara ii. 6. 22 Sarvānanda says . *Puruṣottamadevena gurviṇītyasya durghaṭe sādhutvam uktam*, but no *gurvinī* form is discussed by Puruṣottama-deva (See iv. 1. 44). Nor does it refer to Śaraṇa's *Durghaṭa-vṛtti.* Apparently it is a reference to another Puruṣottama-deva who was the author of a *Durghaṭa.* Sarvānanda's other reference (on Amara ii. 7. 23) is to a Uṇādi commentary. The remaining citations appear to be from the lexicographer Puruṣottama. The Puruṣottama-ṭīkā (on Amara ii. 6. 92), however, may be a reference to the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* but *Bh.-vṛtti* iii. 1. 135 does not discuss the form in question The explicit mention of *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* itself in ii. 8. 16 is the only probable reference to *Bh.-vṛtti* v. 1. 124 where the formation of *dautya* referred to is discussed. It is clear, therefore, that Sarvānanda refers to more than one Puruṣottama.- Śaraṇadeva's quotations from Puruṣottama-deva cannot be located in the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti.*

ing to Bengal cannot be confidently asserted.[1] The only grounds of identity are that both bore the same, but not an uncommon, name, and that both were Buddhists; but there is also a tradition[2] that the lexicographer belonged to Kaliṅga. All the four lexical works of the author are quoted by Sarvānanda; and they must, therefore, be earlier than 1159 A.D. The *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa*[3] of Puruṣottama is, as its name implies,[4] a supplement in three parts (1050 verses) to the *Amara-kośa,* the professed object being to supply those words which Amara left out.[5] The *Hārāvali,*[6] a smaller work of 278 verses, is in two parts, which deal respectively with synonymous and homonymous words not in common use. The *Varṇa-deśanā,*[7] in prose, treats of orthographical variations, giving a collection of differently spelt words, and mentions such cases of confusion as between *kṣ* and *kh,* which, he says, is due to the similarity of the characters employed, among others, by the Gaudas (*gauḍādi-lipi-sādhāraṇāt*). The *Dvirūpa-kośa*[8] is a brief work of 75 verses, dealing with words which are spelt in two different ways.[9] These are useful compilations but in no way very remarkable works.[10]

Kṣīra-svāmin, in the latter half of the 11th century, quotes and sometimes criticises as erroneous a Gauḍa author more than fifteen times in his commentary on the *Amara-kośa*; and there are more than five further references where the word Gauda in the citation is used in the plural, apparently meaning a school rather than an individual. But unfortunately we know nothing of any early lexical writer (or school) of Gauḍa to whom he might be referring. The only early lexicographer, whose Bengal origin ad-

1. as in *IC*, ii, p. 262.
2. Introd. to ed. of *Trikāṇḍa.* mentioned below.
3. ed. Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1915. The author calls himself Puruṣottama (also in *Hārāvali*), and not Puruṣottama-deva as in *Bhāṣā-vṛtti.*
4. The *Amara-kośa* being in three Kāṇḍas. It has nothing to do with the lexicon *Trikāṇḍa* of Bhāguri menioned in *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* iv. 4. 143.
5. It gives, for instance, 37 more names of the Buddha than Amara's 17, and mentions the Śrāvaka, the Pratyekabuddhas, and the Buddhist work *Prajñāpāramitā.*
6. ed. in Abhidhāna-saṃgraha I, Bombay 1889.
7. Ms in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 295, no. 1039.
8. ed. in Abhidhāna-saṃgraha I, Bombay 1889. Mss in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 294, no. 1037; AUFRECHT, *Bod. Cat.*, no. 449-50 (anon.).
9. Other works ascribed are: the *Ekākṣara-kośa,* which is a homonymous vocabulary of syllabic signs or monosyllables used as words (Mss in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 296, no. 1042/1475a; AUFRECHT, *Bod. Cat.*, p. 189, nos. 431-32); but the Bodleian Ms calls the author *Puruṣottama-deva-śarman*; *Uṣma-bheda* (MITRA, *Notices*, vi, p. 231, no. 2170), which consists of three separate vocabularies on the three sibilants; *Jakāra-bheda* (MITRA, *Notices* ii, p. 311, no. 915), a vocabulary of words having *j* as distinguished from *y* (also includes the three sibilants and the nasals *n* and *ṇ*); *Śabda-bheda-prakāśa,* on words differently spelt (MITRA, *Notices*, vi, p. 298, no. 2235; but see Mitra i, p. 118, no. 223 where the work is assigned to Śiva); it is different from the *Dvirūpa-kośa.*
10. On these works see, Th. ZACHARIAE, *Ind. Worterbucher,* Strassburg 1897, pp. 23f, 38f; Rāmāvatāra ŚARMĀ, Introd. to *Kalpadru-kośa* (GOS, Baroda 1928), pp. xxi-xxiv,

mits of little doubt, comes after Kṣīra-svāmin. This is Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda, son of Ārtihara[1] and author of a commentary, entitled *Ṭīkā-sarvasva*,[2] on Amara's lexicon. The Vandyaghaṭī is well known as the name of a place in Rāḍha from which Vandya or Vandyaghaṭīya Brahmans take their name.[3] It is curious, however, that Sarvānanda's name is missing in the list of Bengal genealogical writers, and that manuscripts of his commentary have not yet been found in Bengal but have been discovered in Southern India.[4] Sarvānanda himself gives a clue to his date[5] when he says (on Amara i. 4. 21) that the Śaka year 1081 and the Kali year 4260 had just passed at the moment he was writing, a statement which gives us the date 1159-60 A.D. He was acquainted with a commentary called *Daśa-ṭīkā* (*daśa-ṭīkā-vid*)[6]; and in his painstaking work not only earlier commentaries but nearly two hundred works and authors are cited. It is in no way inferior to the commentary of Kṣīra-svāmin, and is interesting for the number of Deśī (Bengali[7] mostly) words cited in it. That the work was not forgotten is shown by its citation by Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuta, the next important (Bengal) commentator on the *Amara-kośa*, who wrote his *Pada-candrikā* in 1431 A.D.

If Bengal's contribution to the technical Śāstras, with the exception perhaps of ritualistic writings, has been poor and almost insignificant, it was more than made up by the respectable body of poetical literature it produced in this period, which excelled that of any other period in its history and which contributed at least one remarkable poem of enduring fame and quality. The available references, though scanty, sufficiently indicate the taste and liberality of the Sena Kings, especially of Ballālasena, Lakṣmaṇasena and Keśavasena. They were not only generous patrons of learning and themselves men of learning, but they were also poets and friends of poets. We have a poetical anthology, entitled *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*,[8] compiled in Bengal

1. We need not take the explanation of H. P. SHASTRI (Note to Sesagiri SASTRI'S *Report* II) that Ārtihara denotes a person who has married a girl of superior status, and there is no reason to doubt that it was the actual name of his father (see S. K. DE, *JRAS*, 1927, p. 472, note 3).

2. ed. Trivandrum Sansk. Series, in four parts, 1914-17.

3. Raghunandana similarly calls himself Vandyaghaṭīya Hariharātmaja.

4. An Oḍiyā Ms of the work is noticed by H. P. SHASTRI, *Notices*, 2nd Series, iv, no. 101, pp. 76-77.

5 See the question discussed in *JRAS*, 1928, pp. 135-36, 900f.

6. The phrase *daśa-ṭīkā* does not probably mean ten commentaries but gives the name of a commentary on Amara, which is cited by this name by Liṅgabhaṭṭa, another commentator on Amara (see S. C. VIDYĀBHŪSANA'S ed. of Subhūticandra's Kāmadhenu-ṭīkā on Amara, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1912, p. ix.).

7. For a discussion of these words see two articles respectively of Jogesh Chandra RĀY and Basanta Rañjan RĀY in *Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, for the Bengali era 1336 (= 1929 A.D.) Pt. 2. The number of words is over 300.

8. The work is also called Sūkti-karṇāmṛta in some Mss. Only two fasc. of the work containing 184 pages, ed. Rāmāvatāra ŚARMĀ, were published in Bibl. Ind. (till 1921) ; but the complete work was edited by the same, and printed with introd.

towards the end of the period, in the month of Phālguna 20, Śaka 1127 (= 11th February, 1206 A.D.),[1] which furnishes important material for the study of the poetical literature. Its compiler Śrīdhara-dāsa was the son of Vaṭu-dāsa, who is described as the chief feudatory (Pratirāja Mahāsāmanta-cūḍāmaṇī)[2] and close friend of Lakṣmaṇasena. The work, bearing ample testimony to the compiler's taste and industry by its fine and varied collection of 2370 verses of 485 authors,[3] in five parts, gives us some excellent detached stanzas of poets, who are otherwise unknown and some of whom probably belonged to Bengal.[4] It is difficult, however, to single out from mere names of the authors or subject-matter of the verses, the poets who actually belonged to Bengal, but there are some who are known to us as such from other sources.[5] Among these may be mentioned the royal poets, Ballālasena (one verse),[6] Lakṣmaṇasena (eleven verses)[7] and Keśavasena (six verses),[8] as well as Dhoyī, Umāpatidhara, Govardhana, Śaraṇa and Jayadeva.

and additional readings by Haradatta ŚARMĀ, Lahore 1933. The edition professes to utilise, but gives no account of, two Mss, including one (imperfectly collated) existing in the Serampore College Library ; but since two very important Mss of the work, viz., those in the ASB and Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, do not appear to have been utilised, its value is considerably impaired ; and the method of editing is hardly critical. The work was noticed by AUFRECHT in *ZDMG.* xxxvi, pp. 361f, 509f, by PISCHEL in his *Hofdichter des Laksmanasena*, Gottingen 1893, and by Manmohan CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1906, pp. 157-176.

1. Adding further, in the 27th year of Lakṣamaṇasena's rule. On the interpretation and historical significance of this phrase much has been written, into which we need not enter here.

2. Whose high praise is recorded in five verses (v. 76. 1-5) respectively of five contemporary poets, Madhu, Sāñcādhara, Vetāla, Umāpatidhara and Kavirāja-Vyāsa. The colophon speaks of Śrīdhara-dāsa as Mahāmāṇḍalika.

3. The five parts, called Pravāhas, are entitled respectively Deva, Śṛṅgāra, Cāṭu, Apadeśa and Uccāvaca, and contain 95, 179, 54, 72 and 74 sections (called Vīcis). As each Vīci is arranged to contain symmetrically five verses, the total number of verses should have been 2380, but as several verses appear to be lost in the printed text, the actual number is 2370.

4. The author, however, did not confine himself to Bengal nor even to his own time, but selected his materials widely from old and new, known and unknown sources. His Vaiṣṇavite leanings made him give a large number of verses on Kṛṣṇa, some of which have been freely utilised by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Padyāvalī*.

5. As the Sanskrit anthologies will be cited several times hereafter, the following abbreviations will be employed : Skm = Sadūkti-karṇāmṛta, ed. Lahore 1933 ; Śp = Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, ed. P. PETERSON, Bombay 1888 ; Sbhv = Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabha-deva, ed. P. PETERSON, Bombay 1886 ; Pdv = Padyāvalī, ed. S. K. DE, Dacca 1934 ; Sml = Sūktimuktāvali of Jahlaṇa as indexed in R. G. BHANDARKAR *Report* 1887-91, Bombay 1892 ; Kvs = Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya, ed. F. W. THOMAS, Bibl. Ind. 1912.

6. Skm iv. 6. 3 = Śp No. 763.

7. A verse of Lakṣmaṇasena is given also in Śp no. 923.

8. A Mādhava is quoted six times in the printed text, but no Mādhava-sena, as AUFRECHT, *ZDMG.* xxxvi, pp. 540-41 found in his Ms. CHAKRAVARTI, *op. cit.*, p. 172, gives only one verse (Skm iv. 48. 3) as quoted from Mādhava-sena on the

There is in this anthology a self-laudatory verse of Dhoyī (v. 29. 2)[1] which extols, not undeservedly, Lakṣmaṇasena as the Vikramāditya of Bengal. A traditional verse[2] speaks of five, if not nine, gems of his court, and they are enumerated as Govardhana, Śaraṇa, Jayadeva, Umāpati and Kavirāja.[3] Of Kavirāja, which name is obviously a title[4] borne by many a poet, we know nothing. He cannot be identified with the well known Kavirāja, author of the *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya*, whose patron was Kāmadeva of the Kadamba dynasty (i. 13).[4] It has been suggested with greater probability that the Kavirāja refers to Dhoyī[5] who is described by Jayadeva as Kavi-kṣmā-pati[6] and who styles himself similarly in his own *Pavana-dūta*[7] (verses 101, 103). Jayadeva describes him also as Śrutidhara, an epithet over the interpretation of which as an intended compliment there has been much diversity of opinion.[8] The *Pavana-dūta*,[9] as its name implies, is one of the earliest Dūta-kāvyas written in imitation of Kālidāsa's famous poem, and consists of 104

authority of his three Mss.—From Halāyudha three verses are quoted in Skm ; but as one of these (i. 63. 4) occurs in the much earlier anthology Kvs no. 48 (Mālāyudhasya), it is doubtful if the contemporary Halāyudha is meant.

1 The first half of this verse agrees with the first half of *Pavana-dūta* śl. 101, but the last half is given differently. Śrīdhara certainly knew this poem for he quotes verse 104 = Skm v. 61 5.

2. It runs thus (Sbhv, introd. p. 38 ; PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, p. 5) : *govardhanaś ca śaraṇo jayadeva umāpatiḥ | kavirājaś ca ratnāni samitau lakṣmaṇasya ca* ||, a most pedestrian couplet which however probably preserves an old tradition.

3. This is confirmed by Kumbha (14th century) in his comment on Jayadeva i. 4 ; but Kumbha mentions six, adding Dhoyī and substituting Śrutidhara for Kavirāja.

4. A much coveted title if we are to believe Rājaśekhara.

5. This poet, whose real name was perhaps Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, would be almost contemporaneous. See PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

6. The name is given also as Dhoī, Dhoyīka or Dhuyī.

7. Which is equivalent to Kavirāja, as explained by all scholasts (see PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34).

8. *Kavi-kṣmābhṛtām cakravartī*. The colophon describes him as Dhoyikavirāja. Cf. Skm. v. 29. 2.

9. *viśrutaḥ śrutidharo dhoyī kavi-kṣmāpatiḥ*. Kumbha in his commentary on the *Gīta-govinda* is inclined to find a reference to a scholar named Śrutidhara ; but most other scholiasts agree that it is an epithet of Dhoyī. They explain the word as "one who can remember what he hears once," i.e. one of strong memory, which may imply that Jayadeva means by this phrase to convey Dhoyī's power of memory and imitativeness and consequent want of originality as evinced by his *Pavana-dūta*. But PISCHEL rightly observes, as against LASSEN (ed. *Gīta-govinda*, Bonn 1836, p. 73), that this and other phrases of Jayadeva in this verse are not meant as a disparagement of his estimable contemporaries, but as an indication of their particular literary quality. The variant reading is Śrutadhara. Might not the phrase mean "well-versed in the Veda"? (See WILSON, *Sansk.-Eng. Dict.*, Calcutta 1832, under the word). A poet Śrutadhara, however, is quoted in Śp nos. 1144, 3910, in Sbhv nos. 625, 931, 1680, and Sml. p. lii ; but these verses do not occur in the *Pavana-dūta*.

10. The poem was first brought to notice by H. P. SHASTRI in *Notices*, 2nd Series, i, pt. 2, pp. 221-22, no. 225), who gave an abstract of its contents in *Pro-*

stanzas in the Mandākrāntā metre. The poem is remarkable for its taking up, without its being a Carita, an historical personage for its hero, and furnishes interesting historical and geographical[1] information. With the object of eulogising his patron the poet makes Kuvalayavatī, a Gandharva maiden of the Malaya hills, fall in love with Lakṣmaṇasena, king of Gauḍa, during the latter's alleged career of conquest in the South ; and the elegant, if somewhat conventional, poem describes with considerable poetic talents the route to be followed by the north-easterly spring wind in carrying the message of the love-sick heroine to the royal hero. Dhoyī refers to several other unnamed works composed by himself. This is rendered likely by the fact that more than twenty verses, not traceable in the poem itself, are ascribed to him in the anthologies.[2]

To the other court-poets of Lakṣmaṇasena also we have a reference by Jayadeva in one of the opening verses (i. 4) of his *Gīta-govinda* without, however, any mention of the royal patron. We are told that Umāpatidhara could make the words sprout (*vācah pallavayati*).[3] The *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, which quotes about ninety verses of Umāpatidhara, as well as of one Umāpati (i. 11. 3 ; iii. 17. 4 ; v. 29. 1, 61. 3, 73 3),[4] mentions under the latter name (v. 29. 1) a poem, *Candra-cūḍa-carita*, composed under a prince named Cāṇakyacandra, who is otherwise unknown but who is conjectured by PISCHEL to have been a vassal of Lakṣmanasena. Some of these anthology verses are remarkable, but they are of unequal merit. The name of Umāpatidhara occurs also as that of the author of the Praśasti in the Deopara

ceedings of ASB, July 1898. It was edited from a single Ms by Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1905, pp. 53-71 , re-edited by Cintaharan CHAKRAVARTI in Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad Series no. 13, Calcutta (no date).

1. The information, however, is of much inferior value than such as is supplied by Kālidāsa's poem.

2. Besides 20 in Skm, one in Sml (Goyidhoyi-kavirājasya , this verse is quoted anonymously in *Sāhitya-darpana* VIII. 5) and one in Śp. no. .1161 (=Skm iv. 2. 2, Umāpatidharasya).

3. The interpretation of the phrase has been fully discussed by PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17. It has been variously taken to imply verbosity, love of recondite words, floridity, bombast, superficiality, as well as mastery of lexicography. In this connexion PISCHEL examines the Deopara inscription composed by Umāpatidhara and concludes that the poet's mastery over verbal expression is manifest even in this short composition of 36 verses.—On this poet see also AUFRECHT, *ZDMG*, xl, 142f.

4. The two names often occur in close proximity under verses consecutively quoted in Skm ; this would probably imply that a distinction was meant. The four verses of Umāpatidhara in Pdv (nos 148, 259, 371, 372) occur under the same name in Skm. Śp gives two verses (nos. 755, 3490), but the first of these occurs in Skm (iv. 5. 4) with the name Rāmadāsa. Śp no. 1161 ascribed to Dhoyī is credited, probably more correctly, to Umāpatidhara in Skm (iv. 2. 2). Sml has twelve verses, of which one is assigned to Umāpatidhara (v. 13 2) and two others are ascribed respectively to Śaila-sarvajña (iv. 2. 3) and Dhoyīka (ii. 137. 3) in Skm.—Three verses of Umāpatidhara in Skm (iii. 20 .4 , iii. 26. 4 ; v. 18. 3) refer to Prāgjyotiṣa Kāśī-janapada and Mleccha-narendra in connexion with an unknown king.

(Rajashahi) inscription[1] of Gauḍendra Vijayasena, father of Ballālasena. Beginning with an invocation to Śiva it commemorates the erection by the king of the temple Pradyumneśvara, who is described as a combination of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and records the genealogy and career of the king in thirty-six verses in a variety of classical metres. Four of these verses (nos. 7, 23, 24, 30) occur in the *Sadukti*° (iii. 49. 4 ; iii. 17. 5 ; iii. 5. 5 ; iii. 17. 4) with Umāpatidhara's name ; while one verse ascribed to Umāpatidhara in the anthology (i. 72. 4) is found in the Madhainagar Copper-plate[2] of Lakṣmaṇasena (st. 2), the authorship of which, on this ground, has sometimes been credited to Umāpatidhara. The Deopara inscription informs us that Umāpatidhara lived under the Sena dynasty (*senānvaya*) and refers to the author's "understanding purified by the study of words and their meanings." If any reliance can be placed on the tradition recorded by Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*[3] that Umāpatidhara was a minister of Lakṣmaṇasena, then he lived in the successive reigns of Vijayasena, his son and his grandson.[4]

The high tribute paid by Jayadeva to Ācārya Govardhana that he had no rival in the composition of faultless erotic verse[5] enables us to identify him with Govardhanācārya, author of *Āryā-saptaśatī*[6] a punning verse (no. 39) of which refers to an illustrious king of the Sena dynasty (*sena-kula-tilaka-bhūpati*). In verse 38 the poet speaks of his learned father Nīlāmbara who appears to have composed a work on Dharma-śāstra, while in one of the concluding verses he mentions his brothers and pupils, Udayana[7] and Balabhadra,[7] who helped him in revising and publishing his poem. The honorific Ācārya, mentioned by Jayadeva as well as by the poem itself (verse 51, 702), perhaps indicates his high rank as a scholar and poet. The poem, as

1. *EI*, i, pp. 305-15 ; re-edited N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, iii, pp. 43-56.
2. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
3. ed. Bombay 1888, p. 289 ; see TAWNEY'S translation, pp. 181f.
4. An anonymous commentary on the *Gīta-govinda* (cited by Lassen, *op. cit.* p. 72 and PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, p. 14) not only makes Umāpatidhara a member (sāmājika) of Lakṣmaṇasena's court but also a Vaidya by caste ! Our author is certainly to be distinguished from the much later Umāpati Upādhyāya, author of *Pārijāta-haraṇa-Nāṭaka* (ed. GRIERSON in *JBORS*, iii, pp. 20-98), who flourished under Hindupati Harihara Deva (of Mithilā) reigning "after the Yavana rule"; he appears to be familiar with Jayadeva's poem.
5. As against Jayadeva's reference to the *śṛṅgārottara-sat-prameyaracana* of Ācārya Govardhana, one may refer to *śl.* 47 of the *Āryā-saptaśatī*, where Govardhana praises compositions which are *sotkarṣa-śṛṅgāra*.
6. ed. Kāvyamālā 1, Bombay 1886 (reprinted 1895), with the *Vyaṅgyārtha-dīpana* commentary of Ananta-paṇḍita ; also ed. Somanath SARMA, Dacca Saṃvat 1921 (text only, in Bengali characters). AUFRECHT mentions four other commentaries.
7. Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI believes (*JASB*, 1906, p. 159) that this Udayana may be identical with the Udayana-kavi who composed the Praśasti of the Megheśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa (EI, vi, p. 202).
8. Under the name Balabhadra Skm quotes four verses (ii. 15.1 ; ii. 28.1 ; iv. 10. 5 ; iv. 50. 3).

its name indicates, is a collection of a little over 700 detached verses[1] in the Āryā metre, alphabetically arranged in sections, most of which have a predominantly erotic theme. In following the tradition of the love-poem in the stanza-form, in which the aim is to depict, within the restricted scope of a self-standing and daintily finished verse, some definite erotic situation or a definite phase of the emotion, Govardhana has obviously taken (verse 52) the Prakrit *Sattasaī* of Hāla as his model,[2] but he was at the same time attempting to achieve a task of no small difficulty. Such miniature painting involves the perfect expression of a pregnant idea or intense emotion by means of a few precise and elegant touches. In this Govardhana has, no doubt, attained a measure of success, but very often his verses, moving haltingly in the somewhat unsuitable medium of the Āryā metre, are more clever than poetical and lack the popular flavour, wit and heartiness of Hāla's miniature word-pictures. It achieved, however, the distinction of having inspired the Hindi Satsaī of Vihārilāl which holds a high rank in Hindi poetry.[3]

Jayadeva also refers to another poetical contemporary, named Śaraṇa, who, in his opinion, was praiseworthy in quick and difficult composition.[4] On this testimony of reconditeness, an attempt has been made to identify him with the gammarian Śaraṇa-deva, author of the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*,[5] a work in which difficult usages of doubtful grammatical accuracy, culled from classical authors, are justified with nicety. There is no chronological difficulty, as the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* is expressly dated in Śaka 1095 (=1173 A.D.) ; and the fact that its author, according to the Namaskriyā verses, was probably a Buddhist, need not seriously affect the question. But there is no evidence to justify the identification, which is only a conjecture. A verse of Śaraṇa-deva, quoted in the *Sadukti°* (iii. 54. 5), tells us that he flourished under some illustrious king of the Sena dynasty (*sena-vaṃśa-tilaka*) ; and another verse (iii. 15. 4) of his, deprecating the neighbouring kings of Kaliṅga, Cedi, Kāmarūpa and the Mlecchas, makes a reference to Gauḍa-Lakṣmī. But the anthology quotes not

1. The Dacca edition gives a total of 731 consecutively numbered verses ; but the Bombay edition and M. CHAKRAVARTI, *loc. cit.*, agree that there are 54 introductory stanzas, 696 stanzas in the main body of the text and 6 concluding stanzas, giving a total of 756 verses.

2. The imitation of the Prakrit model is carried to the extent not only of using the moric Āryā metre, but also of calling the sections Vrajyās. It is interesting that the last Vrajyā is called Kṣa-kāra Vrajyā.

3. It is remarkable that none of the stanzas of *Āryā-saptaśatī* is quoted in Skm. A poet Govardhana is quoted six times, but these verses cannot be traced in the poem. The Śp (no. 466) and Sml quote one verse each of Govardhanācārya in Āryā metre, which is found in the poem ; but another verse credited to Govardhana in Śp (no. 3400) is not traceable in either edition. Three verses of Govardhanācārya quoted in Pdv occur in the poem, but the fourth verse (no. 374), similarly cited, is untraceable and is given anonymously in Skm (i. 58. 4).

4. *Śaraṇaḥ ślāghyo durūha-drute* (v. 1. *°druteh*, *°adbhute*). For interpretation see PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-29. S. C. CHAKRAVARTI (introd. to *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*, p. 7) explains : "Saraṇa is praiseworthy in dealing with (liquefying) the stiff" !

5. Trivandrum Sansk. Series no 6, 1909.

only Śaraṇa-deva four times (i. 69. 5 ; ii. 135. 2 and the two references given above), but also Śaraṇa (extensively, fifteen times), Śaraṇadatta (iii. 2. 5) and Ciraṃtana-śaraṇa (iv. 1. 2). There is nothing very recondite in the verses quoted, and it is difficult to say if all the authors are identical.[1]

But the greatest among these poets is undoubtedly Jayadeva himself. The fame of his *Gīta-govinda*[2] has never been confined within the limits of Bengal. It has claimed more than forty commentators from different provinces and more than a dozen imitations[3] ; it has been cited extensively in the anthologies[4] ; and it has been regarded not only as a great poem but also as a great religious work of mediæval Vaiṣṇavism. It is no wonder, therefore, that the work should be claimed also by Mithilā and Orissa.[5] Of the author himself, however, our information is scanty, although we have a large number of legends[6] which are matters of pious belief rather than positive historical facts. In a verse occurring in the work itself (xii. 11), which verse, however, is not commented upon by Kumbha[7] in the middle of the 15th century, we are informed that he was the son of Bhojadeva and Rāmā-devī (variants Rādhā°, Vāmā°). The name of his wife was probably Padmāvatī,[8]

1. The two verses assigned to Śaraṇa in Pdv (nos. 369, 370) occur under the same name in Skm (i. 61. 2, 3). Only these two Bengal anthologies quote Śaraṇa.

2. Very often printed in India. The earliest edition is by LASSEN, Bonn 1836. Other editions : With the *Rasika-priyā* of Kumbha and the *Rasa-mañjarī* of Śaṃkara-miśra, NSP, Bombay 1917, 1923 ; with the *Bālabodhinī* of Caitanyadāsa (first printed, Calcutta 1881), ed. Harekrishna MUKHERJI (in Bengali characters), Calcutta 1929. For an account of the commentaries, see LASSEN, Prolegomena to the work cited and PISCHEL, *op. cit.* The work has been translated into English by Sir William JONES (Collected Works, London 1807) and Edwin ARNOLD (The *Indian Song of Songs*, Trubner : London 1875, free verse rendering), into German by F. RÜCKERT in *ZKM*, i, 1837, pp. 129-173 (Berlin . Karl Schnabel, 1920), and into French by G. COURTILLIER, Ernest Leroux : Paris 1904. But none of these versions has been able to reproduce the exquisite verbal melody and charm of the original.

3. Some of which take for their theme Rāma-Sītā and Hara-Gaurī.

4. Besides 31 verses quoted in Skm, of which only two (i. 59. 4 ; ii. 37. 4) are traceable in the poem, we have 24 quotations in the Śp and 4 in Sbhv. The Sml assigns two verses to Jayadeva, one of which occurs in the *Prasanna-rāghava* of his namesake, Jayadeva, who describes himself as the son of Sumitrā and Mahādeva of the Kauṇḍinya-gotra, but with whom he is often confounded.

5. The question is discussed by M. CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1906, pp. 163-165.

6. The Hindi *Bhakta-māl* of Nābhādāsa (edited and rewritten by Nārāyaṇadāsa in the middle of the 17th century), as well as the Sanskrit *Bhakta-mālā* by Candradatta based on it, records some of these legends. See PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 23, and GRIERSON, *Modern Vernacular Lit. of Hindustan* (Calcutta 1889), sec. 51. These legends, however, show in what light Jayadeva was glorified in the eyes of the later devotee

7. But is accepted by other commentators and is found in BÜHLER's Kashmir Ms. (*Kashmir Report*, p. 64), as well as in the Nepal Ms. dated 1494 (*JASB*, 1906, p. 166).

8. The implied personal reference to Padmāvatī in i. 2 is disputed expressly by Kumbha, who would interpret the word *padmāvatī* as the goddess Lakṣmī. In x. 8,

and his home was Kendubilva (iii. 10)[1], which has been identified with Kenduli on the bank of the river Ajaya in the district of Birbhum (Bengal), where an annual fair is still held in his honour on the last day of Māgha. The various songs in the poem, recorded along with appropriate Rāga and Tāla, indicate that the poet had also a knowledge of music. Jayadeva himself does not give any independent clue to his date ; but traditional accounts[2] agree in placing him in the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena ; and apart from the poet's own references to Dhoyī and Ācārya Govardhana, which point to the period of Sena rule, a verse from the *Gīta-govinda* (i. 12) is said to occur in an inscription dated 1292 A.D.[3], while two verses (1. 59. 4 and ii. 37. 4), given by *Sadukti°* as Jayadeva's, are found in the poem (xi. 11 and vi. 11).

The *Gīta-Govinda*, with its erotic emotionalism, has been claimed by the Caitanya sect as one of its sources of religious inspiration ; and Bengal Vaiṣṇavism would regard the work not so much a poetical composition of great beauty but as an authoritative religious text, illustrating the refined subtleties of its theology and Rasa-śāstra. The theme as well as inspiration of Jayadeva's poem, like those of the Maithili Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs of Vidyāpati[4], would doubtless lend themselves to such interpretation, but the attitude has somewhat seriously affected the proper appreciation of Jayadeva's work. It should not be forgotten that Jayadeva flourished at least three centuries before the promulgation of the Rasa-śāstra of Rūpa-Gosvāmin ; and the Kṛṣṇaism, which emerges in a finished literary form in his poem, as in songs of Vidyāpati, should not be equalised with that presented by the dogmas and doctrines of later scholastic theologians.[5] As a poet of undoubted gifts, it

again, we have : *padmāvatī-ramaṇa-jayadeva-kavi°*, but there is a variant reading : *jayati jayadeva-kavi°*, which omits this word ; while the third reference in xi, 8 is interpreted by Kumbha also in the same way. But Caitanyadāsa, Śaṃkara-miśra and other commentators take these passages as implying a reference to the proper name of Jayadeva's wife.– The legend that Padmāvatī was a dancing girl and Jayadeva supplied the musical accompaniment to her dancing is said to be implied by means of punning in Jayadeva's self-description as *padmāvatī-caraṇa-cāraṇa-cakravartin* in i. 2.

1. The name is given variously as Kindu°, Tindu°, or Sindhu°. Kumbha takes it as the name of the village where the poet resided or as his Śāsana ; Caitanyadāsa interprets it as the name of his Grāma and family (Kula) ; Śaṃkara thinks it to be the Vṛtti-grāma of Jayadeva's family.

2. For references see PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 6.

3. See *JASB*, 1906, pp. 168-69. Two poems, ascribed to Jayadeva, in praise of Hari-Govinda, are preserved in the Sikh *Ādi-Granth*, but in their present form they are in Western Apabhraṃśa.

4. As his works testify, Vidyāpati, also a court-poet, was undoubtedly a Smārta Pañcopāsaka, but the followers of Caitanya have attempted to transform him also into a Vaiṣṇava devotee. The question has been discussed by H. P. SHASTRI in his ed. of Vidyāpati's *Kīrti-latā* (Calcutta B.E. 1331 = A.D. 1924).

5. For a discussion of this question, as well as on the sources of Jayadeva's poem, see S. K. DE, Pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal in *Festschrift M. Winternitz* (Leipzig 1933), pp. 196f, and in *Bhāratavarṣa*, Calcutta 1339 B.E., pp. 582-84. There are parallelisms between the treatment by Jayadeva, on the one hand,

could not have been his concern to compose a religious treatise according to any particular Vaiṣṇava dogmatics[1] ; he claims merit as a poet, and his religious inspiration should not be allowed to obscure this proper claim. If he selected the love-story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, fascinating to mediæval India, the divine love that he depicts is considerably humanised in an atmosphere of passionate poetic appeal.

There cannot be any doubt that the *Gīta-govinda*, both in its emotional and literary aspects, occupies a distinctive place in the history of Sanskrit poetry. Jayadeva emphasises the praise and worship of Kṛṣṇa and claims religious merit ; but he prides himself upon the elegance, clarity and music of his diction, as well as upon the felicity and richness of his sentiments. The claims are in no way extravagant. Even if there is nothing new in it, the theme must have been a living reality to the poet as well as to his audience. But the literary form in which this theme is presented is extremely original. The work calls itself a Kāvya and conforms to the formal division into cantos, but in reality it goes much beyond the stereotyped Kāvya prescribed by the rhetoricians ; and modern critics have found in it a lyric drama (LASSEN), a pastoral (JONES), an opera (LÉVI), a melodrama (PISCHEL) and a refined Yātrā (VON SCHROEDER). As a creative work of art it has a form of its own, but it defies conventional classification. Though cast in a semi-dramatic mould, the spirit is entirely lyrical ; though modelled perhaps on the prototype of the popular Kṛṣṇa-yātrā in its choral and melodramatic peculiarities, it is yet far removed from the old Yātrā by its want of improvisation and mimetic qualities ; though imbued with religious feeling, the attitude is not entirely divorced from the secular ; though intended and still used for popular festival where simplicity and directness count, it yet possesses all the distinctive characteristics of a deliberate work of art. Except the introductory descriptive and narrative verses composed in the orthodox metres of classical poetry, we have interlocutions, consisting of melodious Padāvalīs, which, forming the most vital element of the work, are meant to be sung but to which moric metres are skilfully suited ; while

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and that of the *Brahma-vaivarta-purāṇa* on the other, of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend and its erotico-religious possibilities in a vivid background of sensuous charm ; but there is no conclusive proof of Jayadeva's indebtedness to the Purāṇa. Nor is it probable that the source of Jayadeva's inspiration was the Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which avoids all direct mention of Rādhā and describes the autumnal, and not the vernal (as in Jayadeva), Rāsa-līlā. There must have been other wide-spread erotico-religious tendencies of a similar kind, from which Jayadeva, like Vidyāpati of later times, derived his inspiration. Even in Caitanya's time when *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* emotionalism was fully established (the work being the almost exclusive scripture of the Caitanya sect) we have evidence of other currents of Vaiṣṇava devotionalism.

1. That Jayadeva had no sectarian purpose is also shown by the fact that the Sahajiyā sect of Bengal also regards him as its *Ādi-guru* and one of its nine Rasikas. The Vallabhācāri sect also recognised the *Gīta-govinda*, in direct imitation of which Vallabhācārya's son Viṭṭhaleśvara wrote his *Śṛṅgāra-rasa-maṇḍana* (ed. Bombay, Saṃvat 1975).

the use of the refrain with these songs not only intensifies their haunting melody but also combines the detached stanzas into a perfect whole. We have thus narration, description and speech finely interwoven with recitation and song, a combination which creates a type unknown in Sanskrit. Again, the erotic mysticism, which expresses fervent religious longings in the intimate language and imagery of earthly passion, and of which Jayadeva's work is one of the earliest and the best literary examples,[1] supplies the picturesque and emotional inflatus, in a novel yet familiar form, by transforming the mighty sex-impulse into an ecstatic devotional sentiment. All the conventions and traditions of Sanskrit love-poetry have been skilfully utilised, and the whole effect is heightened by blending it harmoniously with the surrounding beauty of nature. All this, again, is enveloped in a fine excess of pictorial richness, verbal harmony and lyrical splendour, of which it is difficult to find a parallel. Jayadeva makes a wonderful use indeed of the sheer beauty of words and their inherent melody, of which Sanskrit is so capable; and like all artistic masterpieces, his work becomes almost untranslatable. No doubt, there is in all this deliberate workmanship, but all effort is successfully concealed in an effective simplicity and clarity, in a series of passionate and extremely musical word-pictures.

In its novelty and completeness of effect Jayadeva's work, therefore, is unique in Sanskrit, and it can be regarded as almost creating a new literary genre. It does not strictly follow the Sanskrit tradition, but bears closer resemblance to the spirit and style of Apabhraṃśa or vernacular poetry. The musical Padāvalīs which form the staple of the poem, are indeed composed in Sanskrit but they really conform to the vernacular manner of expression and employ rhymed and melodious moric metres which are hardly akin to older Sanskrit metres.[2] The verses are not isolated, but rhyme and refrain wind them up into compact stanzas, which, again, is a well known characteristic of vernacular song and lyric. The very term Padāvalī, which became so familiar in later Bengali song, is not found in this sense in Sanskrit, but is obviously taken from popular poetry. A consideration of these peculiarities makes PISCHEL suggest[3] that Jayadeva's poem goes back to an Apabhraṃśa original; but, apart from the fact that no such tradition exists, literary

1. With the notable exception of the *Kṛsna-karṇāmṛta* ascribed to Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala, of which, however, no influence is traceable in Jayadeva's poem. See *Kṛsna-karṇāmṛta*, ed. S. K. DE (Dacca 1938) introd. pp. xxvi-xxvii.

2. On the use of rhyme and refrain in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa poetry, see KEITH, *Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 197-8. The rhyme in Sanskrit is recognised not as Antya-yamaka but as Antyānuprāsa (see *Sāhitya-darpana*, x. 6); but its regular use, like that of refrain, is late and is probably due to the influence of Apabhrāmśa poetry.

3. *op. cit.*, p. 27; repeated by S. K. CHATTERJI, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta 1926, pp. 125-26. S. K. CHATTERJI, however, is not accurate in stating that LASSEN held this view. The fact that none of the Padāvalīs is quoted in the Sanskrit anthologies proves nothing; it only shows that the anthology-makers did not think that these songs strictly followed the Sanskrit tradition,

and historical considerations will entirely rule out the theory. It should not be forgotten that the *Gīta-govinda* was composed in an epoch when the classical Sanskrit literature was already on the decline, and when it was possible for such apparently irregular types to come into existence, presumably though the choral and melodramatic tendencies of vernacular literature which was by this time gradually coming into prominence. It is conceivable that popular festive performances, like the religious Yātrā, with their mythological theme, quasi-dramatic presentation and preference for song and melodrama, must have reacted upon the stereotyped Sanskrit literature and influenced its spirit and form to such an extent as to produce irregular and apparently non-descript types, which approximated more distinctly to the vernacular tradition, but which, being meant for a more cultivated audience, possessed a highly stylised form. Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* appears to be a remarkable example of such a type, indicating, as it does, an attempt to renew and re-model older forms of composition by absorbing the newer characteristics of vernacular language and literature. That this was not an isolated attempt but an expression of wide-spread literary tendency is indicated by the existence of a small but significant body of literature which exhibits similar peculiarities.[1] In these cases the vernacular literature developing side by side, re-acted upon Sanskrit, as it was often reacted upon by Sanskrit : and the question of re-translation does not arise. It should also be noted that although the Padāvalīs follow the spirit and manner of vernacular songs, yet they accept the literary tradition of Sanskrit in their highly ornamental and stylistic mode of expression. The profusion of verbal figures, like chiming and alliteration, which are not adventitious but form an integral part of its literary expression, is hardly possible in Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa, which involves diphthongisation, compensatory lengthening or epenthetic intrusion of vowels, as well as elision of intervocalic consonants. It would be strange indeed to suggest that these verbal figures did not exist in the original but were added or re-composed in the presumed Sanskrit version. Neither linguistic nor literary sense will admit that the *Gīta-govinda* was prepared in this factitious manner ; and the theory of translation becomes unbelievable when one considers that Jayadeva's achievement lies more in the direction of its verbally finished form, which is inseparable from its poetic expression.

1 The editor of the *Gopāla-keli-candrikā* (of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Gujarat, ed. CALAND, Amsterdam 1917), which contains Padāvalīs of the same kind, rightly draws attention to its quasi-dramatic and choral peculiarities, and touches upon its similarity to the Swang of North-western India as well as to the *Yātrā*. The *Pārijāta-haraṇa* (ed. GRIERSON in *JBORS*, iii, pp. 20-98) of Umāpati Upādyāya, who probably preceded Vidyāpati, is written in Sanskrit but contains Maithili songs, which are, however, *not* translated into Sanskrit. The same is the case with the *Hariścandra-nṛtya* (ed. A. CONRADY, Leipzig 1891) which contains Nepali songs. The *Mahānāṭaka* is another example of a so-called drama, which was undoubtedly influenced in form and spirit by popular literature. See S. K. DE, Problem of the Mahānāṭaka in *IHQ*, 1931, pp. 17, 32-33 where this question is discussed.

ZWEI ALTINDISCHE PROBLEME

von

ALBERT DEBRUNNER, Bern

I. EINE ERWÄHNUNG DER VORINDOGERMANISCHEN INDUSKULTUR IM RIGVEDA ?

Als ich im Winter 1936/7 wieder einmal in Uebungen das bekannte Lied RV. II 12 las, in dem in besonders gehäufter und schematisierter Form die Taten Indras aufgezählt werden, fiel mir auf, dass nach 7 Imperfekten, 2 Perfekten und einem das finite Verb ersetzenden Ptc. Perf. Pass (4 a ***kṛtāni***) plötzlich 2 Aoriste kamen :

4 b *yó dā́saṁ várṇaṁ ádharaṁ gúhā́ 'kaḥ*
c *śvaghnī́ 'va yó jigīvā́ṁ lakṣám ā́dad*[1]
d *aryáḥ puṣṭā́ni . . .*

"der die dāsische Rasse unterworfen und verdunkelt hat, der die Reichtümer des Protzen[2] wegnahm wie ein siegreicher Glücksspieler den hohen Einsatz" (GELDNER).

Die weitere Untersuchung ergab, dass nachher kein Aorist mehr kommt, sondern nur noch 3 Imperfekte, 5 Perfekte und 11 Präsentien (dazu eine Anzahl von nominalen Prädikativen ohne Verbum finitum).

Nun bezeichnet bekanntlich der Aorist in der vedischen Literatur die a k t u e l l e Vergangenheit, das k ü r z l i c h Geschehene: Pāṇini 3,3,135 DELBRÜCK *Synt. Forschungen* II (1877) 6.87 f.; V (=*Altind. Syntax;* 1888) 280 ff., SPEIJER *Ved. und Sanskrit-Syntax* (1896) 51 § 174. Die in RV. II 12 im Aorist erzählten Ereignisse, d. h. die Besiegung der vorarischen Bevölkerung des Pendschab und die Gewinnung der Reichtümer dieses Feindes, wären also zur Zeit der Abfassung des Liedes noch aktuell gewesen, erst kürzlich erfolgt. Wir hätten demnach ein Lied unmittelbar aus der Zeit der arischen Eroberung vor uns, und die " Reichtümer des Feindes " verstehen wir seit der Auffindung der vorindogermanischen Kultur in Mohenjodaro und Harappa besser als früher.

Bei der Art des RV., der mit allen sprachlichen und gedanklichen Möglichkeiten spielt, wird niemand erwarten, dass eine Nachprüfung der eben geäusserten Vermutung an ähnlichen Liedern ein glattes, widerspruchsloses Bild ergibt. Vielleicht würde es sich lohnen, wenn ein sachlich und sprachlich gleich gut geschulter Vedaforscher einerseits die " historischen " Lieder des RV., ander-

1. Die Bildung dieses Aorists hat WACKERNAGEL überzeugend erklärt (*Festgabe Jacobi*, 1926, 13 ff.) : *ādat* ist Erweiterung eines medialen **āda* wie das Imperfekt ***aduhat*** für ****aduha.***

2. Besser : des Feindes.

erseits die Aoriste unter diesem Gesichtspunkt neu durchprüfte. Ich habe nur einige besonders naheliegende Stichproben gemacht :

Zum Gebrauch der Aoriste *akar* und *ádat* ist Folgendes zu sagen : DELBRÜCK *Synt. Forsch.* II 67-70 stellt die Aoristbeispiele von *kṛ-* zusammen ; ich zähle 46 in aoristischem Sinn,[1] 12 in erzählendem, 4 sonstige.[2] Für *adām* usw. gibt er S. 76 nur aoristische Fälle (9), für *ádam* usw. rechnet er S. 76 f 2 aoristische dazu kommt II 12, 14 !), 2 erzählende und 2 unentschiedene. Der einzige[3] ausserrigvedische Beleg für *ádam* (VS. 12, 105 a) ist deutlich aoristisch : *íṣam úrjam ahám itá ádam* " Labung und Kraft entnehme ich jetzt daraus " (nämlich aus dem soeben dargebrachten Opfer).

Um II 12 herum liegen mehrere ähnliche Preislieder auf die Taten Indras (11. 13. 14. 15. 17. 19-22). Keines ist aber so straff gebaut wie 12. Daher ist die Aoristverwendung unklarer : der Aorist wird auch von mythologischen Vorgängen gebraucht ; z. B. 11, 7 und 8 (GELDNER *Uebers.* Anm. zu 7 c : " Der mythologische Vorgang . . ist nach dem Aorist in die Gegenwart gerückt ") ; 11,20 b " er hat den Arbuda niedergeschlagen " (*ní. . .astaḥ*). Andererseits wird die Besiegung der menschlichen Feinde verschieden wiedergegeben : Aor. 18 d *ní. . .sādi* " (der Dasyu) wurde (links) liegen gelassen " aber Imperf. 2 d *ávābhinat* " (den Dāsa) hat er niedergeschlagen." II 19,1-7 analysiert DELBRÜCK a.a.0.55 f. Dagegen scheint das Siegeslied VI 27 aktuell zu sein : Strophe 3 : wir kannten (*vidmá*) deine Macht nicht, Str. 4 : jetzt aber ist deine Kraft erkennbar geworden (*aceti*), mit der du die Nachkommenschaft des Varaśikha erschlugst (*ávadhīḥ*), als. . .ihr Häuptling zerspellte (*dadāra* !)· in Str. 5 wechselt in der Schilderung desselben Kampfes wiederum das Tempus (*vádhīt, hán, dárt*). Von den beiden " historischen " Liedern über die Zehnkönigsschlacht enthält das erste (VII 33,1-6) gar keinen Aorist, das zweite (VII 83) nur in der Schilderung der gegenwärtigen Kampflage (Str. 3) : Es wäre ja möglich, dass die Situation nicht bei allen Liedern dieselbe war.

Alles in allem :, Nachprüfung ist nötig, aber der Gedanke, dass II 12 unmittelbar nach einer entscheidenden Schlacht gedichtet sein könnte, ist nicht aus der Luft gegriffen. Ich will nur noch eines zu erwägen geben : Die Besiegung der Dāsas kommt noch einmal in dem Lied vor und zwar in der Form des Nomen agentis auf *-tā* (10 d *yó dasyór hantā* " der der Töter des Dasyu ist ") das nach DELBRÜCK *Synt. Forsch.* III 6 ff. Zuversicht, objektive Gewissheit ausdrückt.

II. ZUM ARIERNAMEN.

Nannten sich die " Arier," d.h. die Inder und Iranier, *arya-* oder *ārya* ? Die Frage ist weit davon entfernt, sicher beantwortet zu sein. Ich möchte

1. II, ,12,4 fehlt, weil D. sich " wesentlich auf die Hauptsätze beschränkt " (S. 1).

2. Von den beiden andern Stellen mit *gúhā 'kah* is IV. 18,15b mythologisch, also nicht aktuell ; I. 123, 7 c (Uṣas versteckt das Dunkel) kann gut aktuell sein.

3. WACKERNAGEL a.a.0. 14.

sie hier auch nicht entscheiden, sondern nur einige anspruchslose Ueberlegungen dazu anstellen.

Gewöhnlich liest man, die altindische Bezeichnung sei *árya-*, die iranische * *arya-* (altpers. *ariya-*, awest. *airya-*). Aber schon das grosse Petersburger Worterbuch (unter ²*arya*) lehrt, dass es nicht nur ein *aryá* "hold, ergeben," sondern auch ein *árya-* "Arier" gebe. In der Tat ist *árya-* als "Arier" gesichert durch den Gegensatz zu *śūdrá-* : VS 20, 17 *yác chūdré yád árye*[1] (= TS. Kāṭh. ŚB. TB.) "was (wir) einem Śūdra oder einem Arier (Böses getan haben)" ; VS. 23,31 *śūdró yád áryāyai jāráh* (ohne Parallelen) "wenn ein Śūdra der Geliebte einer Arierin ist" ; 23,30 *śūdrā yád áryajārā* (= TS. MS. usw.) "wenn eine Śūdrafrau die Geliebte eines Ariers ist." Späteres im PW. ; vgl. insbesondere Pāṇ. 3,1,103, wo *arya-* im Sinn von "Herr" und "Vaiśya" angeführt ist (aber 6,2,58 *āryakumāra-* und *-brāhmaṇa-* ; auch 4,1,30 löst die Kāśikā in *āryakṛta-* auf).

Es kann aber noch Weiteres gesagt werden : Im AV, kommt sicheres *árya* nur in Zitaten aus dem RV. vor : IV 32, 1 c = RV. X 83, 1 c ; AV. XVIII 1,21 c = RV. X 11,4 c ; sicheres *árya-* fehlt ganz ; an 5 Stellen steht der Anlaut in Verschleifung mit einem vorhergehenden *-a* (IV 20, 4 d. 8 d ; V 11, 3 c ; XIX 32,8 b ; XIX 62,1 d 1). Wir wissen also nicht sicher, ob wir für den AV. *árya-* oder *árya-* anzusetzen haben. Der Padatext, der überall in *árya-* auflöst, ist nicht unbedingt massgebend. Auch *śūdrāryaú* (s. OERTEL a.a.0.) gibt natürlich keine Entscheidung.

MS. IV 6,6 (89,2) *śūdrasya cāryasya ca* (Mantra ; = ĀpŚS.) wird man lieber in *ary-* auflösen, da ja *árya-* für den schwarzen YV. gut beglaubigt ist. Fur das Kāthakam lasst sich mit SIMONS Index der Tatbestand festellen : Ausser den oben angefuhrten Mantras mit *arye* und *aryajārā* gibt es nur *eine* Stelle[2] : 34,5 (29,4 f.) *āryaṁ varṇaṁ ujjāpayati* "er lässt die arische Rasse siegen"... *antarvedy āryas syād bahirvedi śūdraḥ* "der Arier soll innerhalb, der Śūdra ausserhalb der Opferstatte sein"[3] An der ersten Stelle werden wir *ārya-* als adjektivische Vṛddhiableitung aus *arya-* deuten dürfen, und das wird zur Gewissheit erhoben durch die von OERTEL a.a.O. zitierte Stelle JB. 2,405 *āryaṁ ca varṇaṁ śaudraṁ ca.* Also ware im Grunde *árya-* substantivisch "der Arier," *ārya* adjektivisch "arisch". Dazu passt ferner, dass im RV. *ārya-* wenn man GRASSMANN folgt, etwa ebensooft adjektivisch wie substantivisch ist. Das offenkundig substantivische *āryaḥ—śūdraḥ* der Kāṭhakastelle könnte Anlehnung an das vorhergehende *āryaṃ varṇam* sein.

Das Gesamtergebnis ist nicht sehr klar. Aber es spricht doch Verschiedenes für folgenden Verlauf : 1) *aryá-* "edel", 2) substantiviert *árya-* "der Edle, Arier," 3) davon mit Vṛddhi *ārya-* "zu den Edlen, Ariern gehörig ; arisch," 4)

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1. H. OERTEL *KZ.* 63 (1936) 249 schreibt instinktiv, aber unrichtig, *ārye.* TS. akzentuiert *aryè.*
2. Die 4 Stellen mit *aryaḥ* stammen alle aus dem RV.
3. Die Abtrennung *ā-* ist an beiden Stellen sicher.

dieses neu substantiviert im Sinn von "Arier." Die Vermischung von 3) und 4) wäre schon im RV. eingetreten,[1] was zur künstlichen, mit Hilfe von Ellipsen verdunkelnden Sprache des RV. gut passen würde. In der weniger gekünstelten Sprache der Opfersprüche hätte sich der alte Zustand (2) und (3) besser gehalten.

Ob es auch im Iranischen neben * *arya-*, auf das die awestische Schreibung *airya-* führt, ein **ārya-* gegeben hat, müssen wir dahingestellt sein lassen. Für das Altpersische pflegt man *ariya-* anzusetzen; aber die Schreibung *a r y* erlaubt natürlich ebensogut die Deutung als * *āriya-*, wie ja auch z. B. das Zeichen *a* die Präposition *ā* vertritt.

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1. Ueber *aryá-patnī-* RV. VII 6,5 b (von den Uṣas gesagt); X 43,8 b (von den Wassern) wage ich kein Urteil; es ist offenbar ein Gegenstück zu *dāsá-patnī-*, das I. 32,11 a; V 30,5 d und VIII 85 (96), 18 d ebenfalls von den Wassern, III 12,6 b von den Burgen gesgat ist. Vgl. dazu NEISSER *Wörterbuch zum RV.* I 154. Der Akzent *aryá-patnī-* spricht gegen die Bedeutung "Gattin eines Ariers."

A NOTE ON COW VENERATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, Madras.

In the long process of pastoral life and agricultural life, cow played a very great part.[1] Being connected with the life of the people in the infancy of their civilisation, cow attained a sanctity which required careful tending and upkeeping on the part of the owner. It is perhaps true to say that the cow early acquired a sanctity in monsoon countries, and she may have been a genius of the monsoon.[2] The veneration in which she was held by the primitive tribes was translated into actual worship as a deity from the early Ṛg[3] Vedic period. All such glory and veneration seem to have been confined to milch cow and bull and not to barren cows and other oxen and calves. In the epic period, the uses to which the cow's products were put were many. They were indispensable for sacrifices, for agriculture, for the sustenance of a child and for the relief of the famine-stricken.[4] In those ways the kine helped as they do even now men towards prosperity and growth, and to that extent the kine confer protection to all creatures and resemble the rays of the sun in particular.[5]

Their dung has been considered as the best manure for arable fields and fruit and flower gardens as also for cleansing purposes while dried dung is used for burning the corpse, a practice still current in India.[6] Their fresh and healthy milk adds freshness and health to the growing children. As they sustain children, they sustain the aged and the infirm and bring happiness and peace to suffering millions.[7]

Other uses are that her products are used for curing phthisis and other wasting diseases. Her products form the chief food for man in the shape of milk, curds and clarified butter.[8] Her hide was used as a seat when eating.[9]

1. See DIKSHITAR'S "The Cow in Hindu Life" in the *Journal of Benares Hindu University*, Vol. II, Part III.
2. See *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 10.
3. See DIKSHITAR, *op. cit.*
4. See *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana, Chapter 106, 36.
5. *Ibid.*, 111, 10.
6. S. B. E. 44, p. 202.
7. *Mhb*. Anuśā. Chapter 124, 27.
8. Ch. 113, 22. 124, 21-22. 129-4.
9. 113, 20-21.

The kine were great supporters of ascetics.[1] They were used on occasions of worship to the departed manes.[2]

When once the idea that the cow was a symbol of plenty was finally established, the giving of cows other than milch animals was not relished. In fact, if we understand the feeling of Naciketas in this matter in the right spirit, presents of cows other than milch animals defeat their purpose. A sacrificer, for instance, who presents old, disabled, and impotent cows will not reach the world of bliss.[3] Imbued by such high considerations, the ancient Hindus who were devoted to *dharma* formulated certain ordinances concerning cows. Among them the following deserve mention :

1. Cows should not be allowed to suffer from fire or sun.[4] The idea was that sufficient shelter should be provided by putting up healthy stalls. Exposure may vitally affect their health and consequently their well being.

2. On seeing her one should become glad at heart and bow one's head to her.[5] In this the auspiciousness of the animal is stressed. Even to-day, Hindus feel glad at heart if they see first after waking up in the morning cow and her calf and believe that the day would be one of joy and merriment.

3. One should not feel repugnant at the urine and the dung of the cow.[6] Belief is current that both their urine and dung contain medicinal properties and are also purificatory things.

4. One should never eat the meat of the kine.[7] This one prescription will set at nought the wrong impression that once beef-eating was in use in India. There may have been beef-eating, but it was not countenanced by the society at large.

5. Obstruction of any sort should not be placed in her way.[8] She was such a gentle animal that she was allowed to roam about at will. No sort of injury should be inflicted on her.

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1. पयो दधि घृत चैव पुण्याश्चैताः सुराधिप ।
वहन्ति विविधान्भोगान्क्षुत्तृष्णापरिपीडिताः ॥
मुनींश्च धारयन्ति इह प्रजाश्चैवापि कर्मणा ।
वासवाऽकूटवाहिन्यः कर्मणा सुकृतेन च ॥ 129, 20-21.

2 हव्यकव्येषु यज्ञेषु पितृकार्येषु चैव ह ।
सार्वकामिकमक्षय्यं पितॄंस्तस्योपतिष्ठते ॥ *Ibid.* 46.

3. See *Kathopanisad*. I, 1.3.
पीतोदका जग्धतृणा दुग्धदोहा निरिन्द्रियाः ।
अनन्दा नाम ते लोकाः तान्स गच्छति ता ददन् ॥

4. See *Mhb.*, Anuśā. Ch. 106. 30.

5. Ch. 116. 34.35

6. *Ibid.*, 113.18, गवां मूत्रपुरीषस्य नोद्विजेत कथंचन ।
न चासां मांसमश्नीयाद्गवां पुष्टिं तथाऽऽप्नुयात् ॥

7. Ch. 108 11.

8. *Ibid.*, 19.

6. One should not, even in thought, injure the kine.[1] This ordinance at once points out with what sanctity and veneration she was treated.

7. It is said that the enemy who declared himself to be a cow was not to be slain.[2] This was an important plank in the code of ancient warfare of the Hindus. This incidentally evidences the *dharmic* nature of ancient wars in India.

8. Another prescription is that it was crime to kill a cow.[3] Killing a cow was regarded a criminal offence. The State punished him who committed that offence.

9. To save a cow, a Brahamana or Vaiśya who is ordinarily forbidden to take to arms, can take up arms.[4] This is a case of *asādhāraṇa dharma* The *sādhāraṇa dharma* was that excepting a Kṣatriya no member of other communities could take to arms. But in certain circumstances, members of Brahmana and other castes could take to arms One was self-defence and another was defending a cow from being injured.

10 In giving evidence a witness takes in hand among other things, cow dung and declares truth[5] This shows how *dharma* has become deep-rooted and anything of cow was deemed so sacred that it was considered heinous to tell an untruth even in the presence of cow dung, let alone a cow.

In the light of the above examination, it is difficult to accept that sacrifice of cows was involved in *gomedha*. The Vedic literature which glorifies the cow and hedges her with divinity cannot at the same time allow her to be sacrificed and slaughtered. The same holds good of most Vedic literature where again the cow is celestial *par excellence*. Worship of the animal and *himsā* cannot go together. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the term 'go' in places like *gomedha* did not mean a cow, but it stood for some bovine animal, or products of the cow. As a matter of fact, in all various sacrifices which are being performed to the present day, the common expression *paśumedha* means a sacrifice of a goat or goats. Conclusion is then, irresistible that the term 'paśu' represented the goat, as it is still in practice and never meant a cow which, to all intents and purposes, continues to enjoy respectful worship uniformly from pre-historic times to the present day.

1. *Ibid.*. Ch. 116.34.

2. अन्यत्र व्यश्वसारथ्यायुधकृताञ्जलिप्रकीर्णकेश पराङ्मुखोपविष्टस्थलवृक्षारूढदूतगोब्राह्मण वादिभ्यः । *Gautama Dharma*, X. 17, (Mysore Govt. Oriental Series, 1917)

3. *Ibid.*, xxii.20.

गां च वैश्यवत् ।

4. *Baudh*, II.2.18.

5. *Laws of Brhaspati*, VII. 22-23 The translation of the text runs as follows : "A witness should give evidence according to truth. After putting off his shoes and his turban, he should stretch out his right hand, and declare the truth, after taking in his hands gold, cowdung or blades of sacred grass." S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII., pp. 301-302.

KAUŚIKA AND THE ATHARVA VEDA

By

FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Yale University.

It was one of the great achievements of my teacher, Maurice BLOOMFIELD, that he first edited and published the *Kauśika Sūtra*, the ritual textbook of the *Atharva Veda*, and showed in a number of specific instances how necessary that text's statements may be for a correct understanding of the Atharvan hymns. Various of these hymns, which had previously been grotesquely misunderstood, were first provided with their true interpretation by BLOOMFIELD, as a result of his study of the *Kauśika*. A good instance is AV. 1.14, which WEBER, LUDWIG, and ZIMMER thought to be a marriage-hymn. In *JAOS* xiii, p. cxv ; *AJP* 7.473ff.; and *SBE* 42, pp. 107, 252ff., BLOOMFIELD showed that Kauśika is certainly right in using it in "a woman's incantation against her rival." It is feminine jealousy-charm ; about as remote as possible from a marriage-hymn ! And this case is by no means isolated. In his book on "The Atharva Veda" in BÜHLER's *Grundriss*, p. 57, BLOOMFIELD remarks justly : "All scholars are agreed now that the Sūtra of Kauśika frequently furnishes valuable hints towards making out the situation within which many hymns were conceived, by furnishing the *mise-en-scène*, as it were, of a given hymn."

To my mind, it seems a little unfortunate that BLOOMFIELD immediately added to this the following qualifying statement : "But all scholars are also agreed that the Sūtra draws in a large measure upon the independent tradition of folk-customs and practices in general, interweaving the Atharvan hymns as prayers applicable to the situation with more or less fitness." The implication here is that Kauśika is dependent on the Atharvan tradition only to a rather limited extent, and that its uses of Atharvan materials are largely "independent" of that tradition.

The more I study the Atharva and the *Kauśika*, the more I am impressed with the intimate relation between the two, and the more convinced I become that Kauśika is on the whole a pretty strict adherent of a school tradition which was the direct heir of the *Atharva Saṁhitā* itself, knew very well the purposes of the Atharvan hymns, and stated them very accurately, on the whole, in its ritual prescriptions. It is my belief that there are extremely few Atharvan hymns, the original practical purpose of which will not be found stated somewhere in the *Kauśika*. Secondary application of them is found, in my opinion, almost exclusively in this way, that the *Kauśika* very often uses an Atharvan hymn in two or more quite different rites. In such cases, or in most of them, it is reasonable to suppose that the hymn was originally com-

posed for only one of the several purposes to which Kauśika puts it. The problem is then merely to decide which was the original function. This sort of secondariness is just what we should expect of a school text, later in date than the compilation of the Saṃhitā. It does not mean that Kauśika has lost the thread of Atharvan tradition, nor even necessarily that it has used " independent " traditions. It only means that in the course of time the practitioners of the Atharvan rites extended the application of many Atharvan hymns, using them in performances which the original authors did not have in mind, *in addition to* (but not instead of !) those which they did have in mind.

One reason, and indeed the most important, for my belief in the general historic soundness of the *Kauśika* as representative of Atharvan practices, is the fact that frequently we find a very close and intimate *verbal* relation between the language of the hymn and that of the *Kauśika* rite which applies it. So close is this relation that, as BLOOMFIELD showed in some cases, we need the *Kauśika* in order to understand even the very words of the hymn. The fact that, in some cases, the language of the hymn cannot be understood without reference to the *Kauśika,* seems to me evidence for the point I am making. The hymns were not composed in a vacuum, or as literary exercises. Each of them had a definite and drastically practical purpose : it was designed to accompany a magic rite for the attainment of a specific practical end. Naturally, therefore, it often contains clear references to the *realia* of the rite itself : to the implements used, or the actions performed. Without knowing what these were, it is not infrequently impossible to guess what the hymn is talking about. And the *Kauśika* is, as a rule, our only source of information on this subject. It is my increasingly firm belief that it is, broadly speaking, an extremely reliable one, within the limits indicated above.

Neglect of this truth has been a great drawback to the interpretation of the *Atharva Veda.* Strangely, even BLOOMFIELD himself, despite the fact that he was the first to emphasize the *Kauśika*'s importance, has failed at times to make full use of it in interpreting the *Atharva.* Still less have other interpreters done so. In reading WHITNEY, for example, one gets the impression that he had little interest in Kauśika. Of course, as a rule he methodically reports the places where Kauśika refers to each hymn, with a brief statement of the nature of the rite there recounted. But hardly ever does he seem to take it seriously. One gets the impression that he regarded these Kauśika references as just a necessary part of his scholarly apparatus, to be recorded for the sake of completeness, and then practically ignored.

It would scarcely be possible here to attempt an extended demonstration of this point. I shall limit myself to two examples, which have recently caught my attention. In both, it seems to me that a study of the *Kauśika* throws valuable light on the verbal interpretation of an Atharvan hymn ; and in both that evidence has been entirely ignored by all previous interpreters, including WHITNEY and (in one case) BLOOMFIELD (the other concerns a hymn which BLOOMFIELD did not translate or comment upon).

The first is AV. 1.7.2, in a hymn addressed to Agni, intended to accompany a rite for getting rid of devils and evil spirits of various kinds. It is one of the *cātana* or "expelling" group of charms, mentioned by *Kauś.* in 8.25 ; the rite is described in 25.22ff., to which WHITNEY does not even refer specifically, saying merely that the *cātanāni* of 8.25 "are used in a few places for exorcism and such purposes". Yet *Kauś.* 25.30, in the midst of the description of the rite, contains a word which seems to me to solve a riddle which has defied WHITNEY and all other commentators, including BLOOMFIELD, in the second verse of this hymn, which reads :

ājyasya parameṣṭhiṃ jātavedas tánūvaśin |
ágne taulásya prāśana yatudhānan ví lāpaya ||

So the MSS, except that many of them write *parameṣṭhin,* for which °*ṣṭhiṃ* is of course merely an orthographic variant. ROTH and WHITNEY's text emends *taulásya* to *tailásya,* and all western commentators have followed this text, rendering "sesame-oil." Shankar Pandurang PANDIT's edition keeps the reading of the MSS, which is supported (at least in essence) by the Ppp. reading *tūlasya* (BARRET, *JAOS* 35. 48, supposes that *taulasya* with the MSS of Śaunakīya should be read).

That the emendation of ROTH-WHITNEY is wrong is clearly proved by *Kauś.* 25.30 : *vīriṇatūlamiśram iṅgiḍaṃ prapuṭe juhoti.,* "he offers as oblation in a *prapuṭa* (some kind of container) *iṅgiḍa-oil* mixed with panicles of the plant *vīriṇa* (Andropogon muricatus)." This explains why Agni is, in verse 2 of the accompanying hymn, invited to eat not only the sacrificial butter (*ājya*) but also the "panicle" or "collection of panicles," according as one prefers the Paippalāda reading *tūlasya,* or the Śaunakīya MSS reading *taulásya.* That one of these two is the true reading, and should be kept in the text, is certain. The Śaun. reading, implying a collective noun derived from *tūla* "panicle," is rather more attractive than the Paipp. *tūlasya* ; and *ū* for *au* is a not uncommon corruption in Paipp.

The other passage I shall discuss is the very first stanza of the first hymn of the AV. :

yé triṣaptaḥ pariyánti víśvā rūpāṇi bíbhrataḥ |
vācáspátir bálā téṣāṃ tanvò adyá dadhātu me ||

"The thrice seven (indefinitely large number) that roam about, bearing all forms—let the Lord of Speech to-day assign to me their powers, their persons." The verse is simple enough, except that no one has succeeded in making any plausible guess as to who the "thrice seven" are. WEBER and GRIFFITH thought gods were meant ; ROTH, as quoted by WHITNEY, "the healthy hearers (of the sacred learning), old and young" ; WHITNEY himself thinks, possibly, the sounds or syllables which make up the sacred learning, to engender which in man is the purpose of the hymn and its accompanying rite (Kauśika 10.1, *medhājanana*).

This time it is no particular word in Kauś., but the actions described, which seem to me to make quite clear what is meant. Since the rite and accompanying hymn are to produce *medhā,* sacred learning, naturally Vācaspati, "the lord of speech," is invoked; and equally naturally, talking birds come into the picture, for of course *vāc,* "speech," means in the Veda "sacred learning." Even more specifically, Kauś. 10.2, 3 operates with the *tongues,* the organs of speech, of such talking birds: *śukasārikṛśūnāṃ jihvā badhnāti* (2), *āśayati* (3). That is, "he (the practitioner) ties on (the beneficiary, as amulets) the tongues of parrots, thrushes, and larks (? at any rate, some talking bird);" and "he causes him to eat (tongues of such birds)," while reciting this hymn. What could be clearer than that it is these talking birds, emblems of "speech" (*vāc*), of which the "lord of speech" (Vācaspati) is to implant the "powers" and the "persons" or bodies, in the aspirant for sacred knowledge? As he says this, he ties on the tongues of talking birds, and has the aspirant eat them. Of course the tongue is the carrier of the power of speech. From the standpoint of magic, this most effectively symbolizes the desired acquisition of "speech," that is, sacred learning. The "thrice seven that roam about," then, are these birds—neither gods, nor sacred syllables, nor "healthy hearers," nor anything else. A glance at the Kauśika practice is sufficient to make immediately clear what has always been a puzzle to interpreters of this first hymn of the *Atharva Veda.*

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual ; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's menstrual period is apparently broken at times ; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after the next new moon.

The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

* This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localized, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties ; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough ; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (po*l*y). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpo*l*y, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, kuɯ:*s*y of the sib called mö:ṛ was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti :-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti ·-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuɯ:*s*y but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund ; she must go outside and stay away for three days At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

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1. See RIVERS, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle).
2. RIVERS, pp. 339-40.

Finally we come to the question of the woman's personal hygiene during menses. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all discarded ones are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other Indian community.

The contrast between the menstrual regulations of the Todas and those of other Indian communities is neatly pointed by the habits of the small Toda Christian community. The converted Toda women have not been sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has been made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house. The Tamilian women, on the other hand, wear no napkins, refuse to cook and will not even enter the room where the cooking-hearth is built.

THE DONATED LAND OF THE NADHANPUR GRANT OF BHĀSKARAVARMAN OF KĀMARŪPA

By

† JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, Calcutta.

We have read with interest Dr. BHATTASALI'S paper on the above subject, published in *JRASB*, 1935, (Vol. I., pp. 419-27). We are glad to find that Dr. BHATTASALI has, after careful researches, arrived at the conclusion that the donated land lay in Pañcakhaṇḍa, which we did some eight years ago, with our then imperfect knowledge of the local geography. Before him another scholar, viz. Dr. K. M. GUPTA, Professor of History of the Sylhet College, came to the same conclusion, also independently. [*IHQ*., for 1931 (Vol. VII., pp. 743ff)]. We are sorry to find that Dr. BHATTASALI has ignored him altogether, although he has noticed the names of other scholars, who joined in the discussion after Dr. GUPTA.

Dr. BHATTASALI remarks about our article (*IHQ*., 1930, Vol. VI., pp. 60ff) that we therein dealt with 'the migration of Nāgar Brahmins to eastern India, a subject which has not been properly handled, the discussion of the topic so far being based on a number of unwarranted conjectures.' Has not this been quite out of place in his paper under discussion, which deals with the boundaries of the donated land? He could well have reserved it for a separate paper to deal with. We shall be very glad to have a fair criticism from Dr. BHATTASALI, not only of our paper in question, but also that of Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR, dealing with the same subject. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1932, Vol. XLI., pp. 41-55 & 61-72). In fact a sober and unbiassed discussion is a desideratum, in the field of research, in arriving at the truth.

Dr. BHATTASALI has given the credit of bringing to the notice of scholars, the fact of the existence of 'Gangni gram' and 'Gagni Bil,' in the locality, to Prof. BHANDARKAR. But in fact the credit, in the first place, belongs to Mr. Ram Tarak BHATTACHARYA of Silchar, and secondly to Dr. GUPTA of the Sylhet College. We referred to both in our note, published in the *Indian Culture* for 1935, Vol. II., pp. 153-157. In fact the knowledge of Prof. BHANDARKAR of the India Government map No. 830D/1 is from us. We do not, however, find fault with the Professor for not making these small acknowledgements, as this would have been out of place in a book-review.

This discovery of two Gāṅgnîs in the locality has, no doubt, proved the futility of wandering in Northern Bengal, for looking up Gangiṇikā, which was not unknown in Sylhet. But this has not been of any help in tracing Gaṅgiṇikā, the Western boundary of the donated land in Pañcakhaṇḍa. To Dr. BHATTASALI lies the credit of finding out the name of the river to the

West of Pañcakhaṇḍa as 'Lula Gang', and successfully identifying it with Gaṅgiṇikā of the charter. We wonder how the learned and careful editor of the plates like Pandit Padmanath BHATTACHARYA Vidyāvinod, who is a resident of the district, knows the creek and corner of the district, and had been on the spot, could fail to notice the existence in the vicinity of Pañcakhaṇḍa, such places as 'Marā Kusiyārā,' 'Gangni,' 'Khasa,' 'Lula-Gang' and 'Candrapur,' the most important items for the identifications of the donated land. Far from discussing the locality, he does not make even a bare mention of any of them, in his contributions on the subject, in the various journals. What does this silence signify?

For purposes of proper identification of the *agrahāra*, Dr. BHATTASALI appears to have devoted much time and labour, to arrive at the exact sense of the words by which the boundaries of this area are indicated. We would like to make some observations on his findings on the subject. First of all, let us for ready reference quote below the passage from the charter indicating the boundaries, showing readings, as well as, corrections by Pandit VIDYĀVINOD :—

L. 128 *Sīmāno yatra pūrvveṇa śuṣka-Kauśikā* || *Pūrva-dakṣi-*

L. 129. *ṇena saiva suṣka-Kauśikā dumbarī-ccheda-samb* (*ṁve*)*dyā* || *Dakṣiṇenāpi dumbarī-cch*[*e*]*d*[*aḥ*] || *Dakṣiṇa-*

L. 130. *paścimena Gaṅg*[*i*]*ṇikā dumbarī-ccheda-samb*(*ṁve*)*dyā* || *Paścimenādhunā-sīma-Gaṅgī*(*i*)*ṇikā*[||] *Paścimo-*

L. 131. *ttareṇa Kumbhakāras-saiva ca Gaṅgī*(*i*)*ṇikā prāg-bhujyamāno* (*nā* ||) *uttareṇa bṛhaj-jāṭalī* || *uttara-pū-*

L. 132. *rvveṇa Vyavahari- Khasoka- puṣki*(*ṣka*)*riṇī śuṣka-Kauśikā ceti* ||

The line 130 above describes the Western boundary as—*Paścimenādhunā sima-Gaṅgiṇikā*. This has been translated by Dr. BHATTASALI, as—'To the west was the rivulet itself', while Pandit VIDYĀVINOD, as 'In the west the modern boundary is Gaṅgiṇikā.' (*Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalî*, p. 41). We are afraid both the scholars have failed to catch the real import of '*adhunā-sîma-Gaṅgiṇikā*, which is a *samāsa*—compound, implying 'Gaṅgiṇikā with its modern boundary'. Pandit VIDYĀVINOD commenting on the word *adhunā*, here, says—"the word '*adhunā*' appears to imply that previously in the time of Bhūtivarma's granting the charter this Gaṅgiṇikā was at a distance, now it has reached the border. (*Ibid*, p 41, n. 3). This view of the editor of the plates does not seem to be correct. If in the time of Bhūtivarma, Gaṅgiṇikā, which was a running current then, was further away from the western border of the *agrahāra*, the question of distribution of the land increased by Gāṅginî, as recorded in lines, 127-128, of the charter would not, according to the Hindu law, have arisen at all. We shall hereafter discuss this question in detail, in a separate paper, on 'the law of alluvion and diluvion in ancient India.' We shall then be in a position to realize how very important is this

interpretation of ours of the word '*adhunā-sîma-Gaṅgiṇikā*', in understanding the passage about the distribution of lands enhanced by the Śuṣka-Kauśikā and Gāṅginî. (lines, 126-27).

It will be seen from the extract given above that the word '*dumvarî-ccheda*' occurs twice, and '*dumvarî-cchada*' only once, which has been corrected by Pandit VIDYĀVINOD as '*dumvarî-ccheda*'. Dr. BHATTASALI has read '*dumvarî-ccheda*' in all the three places. He interprets the word as 'a pool shaped like a fig.' But as a single pool cannot be expected, according to his own showing, to cover a boundary running for miles, he has come forward with the explanation that it means 'pools or sections of the dried up river, which retained water in the shape of figs, i.e., circular of (? or) irregularly circular sections.' Apart from the fanciful nature of the explanation, it cannot be supported for more than one reason. Firstly, '*ccheda*' is singular; it cannot, therefore, be interpreted as 'pools', which is in the plural. Secondly we could not find 'pool' as one of the meanings of the word '*ccheda*', in any dictionary we consulted.

We are not sure which of the two expressions, '*ccheda*' and '*cchada*' is correct. If '*ccheda*' is the word meant, we take it in the sense of 'a divider,' 'a barrier' or 'fencing.' According to this '*dumvarî-ccheda*' means 'the fencing of fig trees.' It appears from the charter that the donees were already in the possession of the *agrahāra*, only that they were made to pay rent for want of the plates, which were destroyed by fire. It would not be at all unreasonable to take that the owners of the plots of land on the border had planted fig trees by way of demarcations of their individual plots, which thus ran throughout the border. These were planted not on the bed of the dried up river, but on the raised land on their banks. So there was no chance of the fencing being washed away during the rains, as has been apprehended by Dr. BHATTASALI. The boundaries given in the plates refer to the *agrahāra* land only, and do not include the accretion lands of the Kauśikā or Gangiṇikā, for which separate provisions have been made in lines 126-128. The expressions, '*saiva śuṣka-Kauśikā dumvarî-ccheda-saṁvedyā* and '*Gaṅginikā dumvarî-ccheda-saṁvedyā*' mean that the dried up Kauśikā and Gaṅgiṇikā are indicated by the fencings of fig trees, i.e. the beds of the Kauśikā and Gaṅgiṇikā commence from the fencings.

If, however, '*cchada*' is the correct word, we think it is only a Sanskritized form of the local word *Chadā*, meaning 'a stream' or 'a rivulet.' We know from our personal knowledge that this word is current even to-day in the Sylhet and Chittagong districts. In the town of Sylhet itself there are two *chaḍās*, namely, Mālinî and Goālî. In the Chittagong copper-plate of Damodara occurs '*mṛta-cchaḍā*' or 'dead stream' as the northern boundary of the donated land. (*Bengal Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 163). So *Dumvarî-cchada* means a stream with the name of Dumvarî. We are in favour of this reading of *cchada*. If the word was *ccheda*, in the sense of fencing or pool, we would expect them in the eastern and western boundaries also, which

are indicated by the dried up Kauśikā and Gaṅgiṇikā. But as they are found only in the south-east, south, and south-west, we think *cchada* meaning a stream is the more probable explanation of the two. It is to be noted here that the southern boundary consists of *dumvarî-cchada* or *ccheda* only, without any mention of Kauśikā or Gaṅgiṇikā.

In conclusion, we must say that when four different persons, viz., Mr. Ram Tarak BHATTACHARYA, a man of the locality, ourselves, Dr. K. M. GUPTA, a Professor of the local College of Sylhet, and Dr. BHATTASALI, have *independently* come to the same conclusion that the donated land lay in paragana Pañcakhaṇḍa of Sylhet, it deserves more than ordinary consideration.

ĀPADEVA, THE AUTHOR OF THE MĪMĀṀSĀNYĀYA-PRAKĀŚA AND MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA ĀPADEVA THE AUTHOR OF THE ADHIKARAṆACANDRIKĀ AND THE SMṚTICANDRIKĀ — ARE THEY IDENTICAL ?

By

P. K. GODE, Poona

AUFRECHT[1] records only one MS of a *mīmāṁsā* work called the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* by Mahāmahopādhyāya Āpadeva, *viz.*, "L 1911" which is the same as No. 1911 described by *Rajendralal* MITRA in 1880.[2] In Appendix A[3] to his *Notices of Sans. MSS* containing a list of MSS purchased by him for Govt. of India among the Mīmāṁsā works No. 1911 is not included.[4] It appears, therefore, that this big work of Āpadeva represented by a single complete MS has remained in private possession since 1880 and may have been lost, though let me hope that some scholar at Darbhanga interested in the study of Mīmāṁsā makes a strenuous effort to regain it from the descendants of Pandit Madhao Jha of Śano after proper inquires.

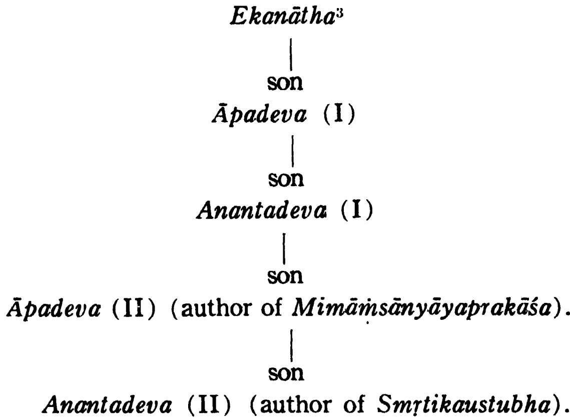
In the absence of this only MS of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* it is difficult to say anything authoritatively about the author of this work or the work itself. Let me, however, record in this paper some evidence which goes to disprove that Āpadeva the author of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* is identical with Āpadeva, the author of the very popular Mīmāṁsā work called the *Mīmāṁsā-*

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, 10 b.
2. *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Calcutta 1880, Vol. V, pp. 229-230.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. xvii to xxxi.
4. The General Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, in his letter No. 323 of 24th March, 1938, informs me as follows :—"You are informed that the particular MS (=*Adhikaraṇacandrikā*) which was noticed by R. L. MITRA in the Notices of Sanskrit MSS, Vol. V, was never in the possession of the Society, while in his tour he came to know of the existence of this manuscript and most probably he collected information about it by going directly to the place of its deposit."

Particulars of this MS as given by Rajendralal MITRA on p. 229 of Vol. V of his *Notices* are as follows :—"Substance, country-made paper, 14 × 3½ inches, Folia 112. Lines 6 on a page. Extent 2164 Ślokas. Character Maithili. Date ? Place of Deposit : Śano, Darbhanga, Pandit Mádhav Jha. Appearance old. Prose. Correct.

Adhikaraṇacandrikā. On syllogisms with explanations and bearings of the various illustrations usually cited by authors. By Āpadeva Mahāmahopādhyāya."

nyāyaprakāśa otherwise called *Āpadevī*.[1] The genealogy of *Āpadeva*, the author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa* as recorded by his son Anantadeva in his work *Smṛtikaustubha*[2] is as follows :—



Ekanātha[3]
|
son
Āpadeva (I)
|
son
Anantadeva (I)
|
son
Āpadeva (II) (author of *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa*).
|
son
Anantadeva (II) (author of *Smṛtikaustubha*).

AUFRECHT[4] makes the following entry in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* regarding the works of Āpadeva the author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa* :—

" आपदेव, son of Anantadeva, grandson of Āpadeva father of Anantadeva, pupil of Govinda.

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1. Edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vasudeva Shastri ABHYANKAR in the Govt. Ori. Series (Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, 1937) with an original Sanskrit commentary called *Prabhā* (pages 31 + 288). The work has been edited by Dr. Ganganath Jha in the *Pandit*, 26 (1904) Nos. 2, 4, 7, 8, pp. 1-48 ; 27 (1905) Nos. 2-8, pp. 49-226 and by CHINNASWAMI SASTRI in the *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series*, Benares, 1925 (with an original Sanskrit Commentary). See also another edition of the work by M. M. Lakshman Shastri and SITARAM SHASTRI, *Chowkham. Sans. Series*, 1921. For a critical student of Mīmāṁsā the English translation of the work by Prof. Franklin Edgerton of the Yale University would be found very useful as it contains the transliterated Sanskrit text, a glossarial index together with a critical Introduction and Bibliography (Pub. by the Yale University Press, 1929).

2. Edited by KAMALA KṚṢṆA Smṛtitīrtha in the *Gaekwad Ori. Series*, No. LXXII, Baroda, 1935.

3. Prof. F. EDGERTON in his Introduction to Āpadevī (1929) observes about this Ekanātha :—

" This can hardly be the same as the well-known Maratha poet—Saint Eknāth, although he lived at Prātiṣṭhāna (Paithan) also 'on the banks of the Godāvari'." This Eknātha died in 1609 and apparently had only one son, named Hari.*

[* See Justin E. ABBOTT, *Ekanāth*, Poona, 1927. For Ekanāth's only son, Hari see pp. 211 ff. ; for the date of Ekanāth's death, p. 263.—It is, however, extremely likely that the coincidences of name and location are not entirely meaningless ; that is the poet-Saint Eknāth belonged to the same distinguished family as his (younger ?) contemporary, our Āpadeva."]

As Prof. EDGERTON has raised his doubts about the identity of the two Ekanāths it may be worthwhile examining this question in detail on the basis of available evidence.

4. *Cata. Catal.* I, 49 *b*.

—*Adhikaraṇacandrikā, Mīm.* L 1911.
—*Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśikā.*[1]
—*Vāda Kautūhala* (*Mīm.*) Radh. 16.
—*Smṛticandrikā* L. 2239.
—Āpadevīya Oppert. (numerous MSS).

I am concerned in this paper with the work called the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* represented by only one MS as stated above. Let us now see if this work on mīmāṁsā is the work of the author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa.*

Both the works, *viz.*, the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* and the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa* deal with *Mīmāṁsā.* This is the only common point on the basis of which AUFRECHT has ascribed both the works to the author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa* as can be seen from his catalogue entry quoted above. Besides this identity of subject the same name Āpadeva must have also led him to identify one Āpadeva with the other. I am inclined to doubt this identity on the basis of the following particulars which show both the points of identity and difference revealed from the evidence available to us :—

Author of *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa.*	Author of *Adhikaraṇacandrikā*
(1) Identity of the name Āpadeva (the colophons of MSS of Mim. Ny. Prakāśa mention the name Āpadeva as the author of the work).	(1) The colophon of the only MS of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* mentions Āpadeva as the author of the work.

1. The Gov. MSS Library (at the B. O. R. Institute) possesses the following MSS. of Āpadevi :—
(i) *No. 576 of 1884-87* dated *Saṁvat* 1716 (= A.D. 1659). The Colophon reads :—"संवत् १७१६ समये अश्विन शुक्र प्रतिपदि लिखितमिदं"
These Chronological details give us *Wednesday, 7th Sept., 1659* as the date of this copy. (See *Indian Ephemeris*).
(ii) *No. 588 of 1884-87*—a well-written copy, though not very old.
(*iii*) *No. 142 of 1871-72* on folio 1a of this MS we have the endorsement "देवभट्टस्य दत्तं" and on folio 60 it is endorsed "गोविंद दशपुत्रेण लिखितमिदं"—not very old.
(*iv*) *No. 380 of 1899-1915*—appears to be old.
(*v*) *No. 374 of 1899-1915*—an incomplete copy, though old.
(*vi*) *No. 626 of 1886-92*—a good copy, not very old—complete.
(*vii*) *No. 625 of 1886-92*—written in very small characters—complete appears to be old.

(2) This Āpadeva is called the son of Anantadeva in the colophons (इति श्रीमदनन्तदेवसूनुना आपदेवेन कृतं मीमांसान्यायप्रकाशसंज्ञकं प्रकरणं etc.)	(2) This Āpadeva is called Mahāmahopādhyāya but his father's name is not recorded (the colophon reads :—" इति महामहोपाध्यायमीमांसकश्रीआपदेवकृतअधिकरणचन्द्रिका संपूर्णा "
(3) This Āpadeva was a worshipper of Kṛṣṇa. In verse 1 of Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa he bows to Govinda or Kṛṣṇa.	(3) This Āpadeva was also a worshipper of Kṛṣṇa. In verse I of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* he bows to Nandanandana.
Verse 1 reads :— " यत्कृपालेशमात्रेण पुरुषार्थ चतुष्टयम् प्राप्यते तमहं वन्दे **गोविन्दं** भक्तवत्सलम् " compare also the last two verses. " क्वाहं मन्दमतिः क्वेयं प्रक्रिया भाट्टसंमता । तस्माद्भक्तेर्विलासोयं गोविन्दगुरुपादयोः ॥ ग्रंथरूपो मदीयोयं वाग्व्यापारः सुशोभनः । अनेन प्रीयतां देवो **गोविन्दो** भक्तवत्सलः ॥	Verse 1 reads :— " इन्दिराहृदयानन्दं फुल्लेन्दीवरलोचनं । सानन्दं परमानन्दं वन्देऽहं नन्दनन्दनं ॥
(4) This Āpadeva is not called Mahāmahopādhyāya in any of the colophons of the *Mīm Nyā. Prakāśa* MSS examined by me.	(4) This Āpadeva is called both " Mīmāṁsaka " and " Mahāmahopādhyāya " in the only MS of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* described by R. Mitra.

I am inclined to believe that the author of the mīmāṁsā work called the *Adhikaraṇcandrikā* represented by a single MS is Āpadeva I in the genealogy given by Anantadeva in his *Smṛtikaustubha* and who was the grandfather of Āpadeva II the author of the *Mīm. Ny. Prakāśa.* The study of *mīmāṁsā* appears to have been a family heritage. As stated by Prof. EDGERTON[1] Anantadeva, the father of Āpadeva II was himself a famed specialist in Mī-

1. Introduction to *Āpadevī* Edition (1929) p. 17. On p. 23 Prof. EDGERTON draws our attention to the only passage in the Āpadevī in which Āpadeva II refers to his own father (Anantadeva) as an authority (अस्मत्तातचरणास्तु एवमाहु— p. 141 of B. O. R. Institute edition) " This passage is of particular interest because it is the only place in the entire work where the author expressly claims originality for the arguments set forth."

māṁsā as well as a pious devotee of Kṛṣṇa.[1] We may, therefore, conclude that Kṛṣṇa was a family deity from Āpadeva I to Āpadeva II, and that the study of Mīmāṁsā also continued without a break for at least three generations.

It appears that the Mīmāṁsaka Mahāmahopādhyāya Āpadeva composed another work called the *Smṛticandrikā*. This work also is represented by a single MS described by Rajendralal MITRA.[2] The following points of identity revealed from the recorded description of the MSS of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* and the *Smṛticandrikā* indicate the identity of authorship in respect of these works :—

Adhikaraṇacandrikā.	*Smṛticandrikā.*
(1) Similarity of title (the title ends with the word *Candrikā*).	(1) Similarity of title (the title ends with *Candrikā*).
(2) Verse 1 at the beginning reads : "इन्दिराहृदयानन्दं फुल्लेन्दीवरलोचनं । सानन्दं परमानन्दं वन्देहं नन्दनन्दनं ॥	(2) Verse 1 at the beginning reads : "इन्दिराहृदयानन्दं फुल्लेन्दीवरलोचनं सानन्दं परमानन्दं वन्देऽहं नन्दनन्दनं"
(3) नन्दनन्दन or Kṛṣṇa was the deity worshipped by this Āpadeva.	(3) This Āpadeva also bows to नन्दनन्दन or Kṛṣṇa.
(4) The colophon of this work reads :— "इति महामहोपाध्याय-मीमांसकश्रीआपदेवकृता अधिकरण चन्द्रिका सम्पूर्णा"	(4) The colophon of this work reads :—"इति महामहोपाध्यायमीमांसकश्रीआपदेव-कृतौ स्मृतिचन्द्रिका परिपूर्णा"

1. Ekanātha, the great grand-father of Āpadeva II was also a devotee of Kṛṣṇa (Vide p. 451 of KANE : *His. of Dharma.* Vol. I (1930)—verse 13 of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ states :—

"आसीद्गोदावरीतीरे वेदवेदिसमन्वितः । श्रीकृष्णभक्तिमानेक एकनाथाभिधो द्विजः ॥"

2. *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Vol. VI, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 300 ff., MS No. 2239 —स्मृतिचंद्रिका -substance, contry- made paper, 17 × 4 inches ; Folios 188 ; Lines 8-9 on a page ; Extent 12,900 Ślokas ; character, Bengali ; Place of deposit Ulá, Post Ráṇgaháṭa Zillá Nadiyá ; Gopīvallabha Bhaṭṭáchárya ; Appearance decayed ; Prose and verse ; correct.—A digest of Smṛtis regarding duty by Āpadeva Mahāmahopādhyāya. This MS also like that of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* is not included by R. Mitra in the list of MSS purchased for Govt. of India and it was in a decayed condition in 1882. The chances of its recovery from the descendants of Gopīvallabha Bhaṭṭáchárya are very remote, unless a new copy of it has been prepared and preserved in the family collections of MSS.

(5) This Āpadeva was both a मीमांसक and had the title महामहोपाध्याय.	(5) This Āpadeva was also a मीमांसक and a महामहोपाध्याय.
(6) This MS contains the following remarks before the colophon :—"तत्र **सामान्यतः** दर्भमात्रस्य **अतिदेशप्राप्तौ** शरस्य **विशेषत एव उपदेशः**। तथा गृहमेधिनां इष्टिविषये अतिदेशबलादेव दर्शकर्माज्यभागादेः सर्वस्य प्राप्तत्वे विशेषोपदेश इति विवेचनीयं."	(6) This MS contains before the colophon the following remarks :—"इत्यतः **सामान्यतोऽतिदेशप्राप्तौ** तत्त**द्विशेषत** एव **उपदेशः**"

The points of identity in respect of the two works, *viz.*, the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* and the *Smṛticandrikā* recorded above are, I believe, sufficiently convincing to warrant an inference that these two works are composed by the same author. I have, however, expressed my doubts[1] about the identity of this author Mahāmahopādhyāya Āpadeva with his namesake, *viz.*, the author of the *Āpadevī*. These doubts can be cleared if we succeed in recovering the only MS of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* as also that of the *Smṛticandrikā*. Though we have no evidence to estimate the dates of both these works for want of evidence we have more stable chronology for the author of the Āpadevī, *viz.*, Āpadeva II.

Prof. EDGERTON[2] records the following evidence regarding the date of Āpadeva II :

(1) Anantadeva, the son of Āpadeva II wrote a commentary on his father's *Mīmāṁsā Nyāya Prakāśa*. This commentary is called *Bhāṭṭālaṁkāra*.

(2) Khaṇḍadeva in his *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* criticized both the *Mīmāṁsā Nyāya Prakāśa* as also its commentary *Bhāṭṭālaṁkāra* as specifically stated in the *Prabhāvalī*, a commentary on the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* (composed in 1708 A.D.)[3] by Śambhubhaṭṭa, pupil of Khaṇḍadeva.

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1. Mr. P. V. KANE makes the following entries in his *His. of Dharma*. I (1930) about स्मृतिचद्रिका and its author आपदेव :—

Page 668—स्मृतिचद्रिका by आपदेव मीमांसक. On काल, मलमाग, व्रत, आह्निक, विवाह, and other संस्कारs, स्त्रीधर्म, आश्रमधर्म, अन्त्येष्टि, आशौच, श्राद्ध (N. VI, 301)

Page 682—आपदेव son of अनन्तदेव. He was father of अनन्तदेव author of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ and so flourished about 1600-1650 A. D. author of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, रुद्रपद्धति.

2. *Āpadevī* Edition 1929, Intro. p. 18.

3. *Vide* p. 404 b. of *Cata. Catalo.* of AUFRECHT., Part I.

(3) Khaṇḍadeva[1] died at Benares in A.D. 1665.

(4) We are, therefore, justified in assuming the *early part of the 17th century* as the approximate date of Āpadeva.

Mr. KANE[2] assigns Āpadeva to the period 1600 to 1650 A.D. because he was father of Anantadeva who flourished in the "third quarter of the 17th century."[3]

The conclusion arrived at by Profs. EDGERTON and KANE regarding Āpadeva's date on independent grounds finds further corroboration from MSS as follows :—

(1) The Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona has a MS of the *Mīmāṁsā Nyāya Prakāśikā, viz.*, No. 576 of 1884-87. This MS was copied in Saṁvat 1716 (*Aśvina Śukla Pratipadi*) *i.e.*, on *7th September, 1659.* As this is almost a contemporary copy of the work, scholars interested in the textual criticism[4] may find it useful.

(2) A work called the *Rudrapaddhati*[5] is ascribed to Āpadeva II. In 1871 one Mr. Bālambhaṭṭa of Surat had a copy of *Rudrapaddhati* of Āpadeva containing 55 leaves (12 lines on a page). The age of the MS is 1662 which appears to be a *Saṁvat* year because BÜHLER[6] who noticed this MS gives us to understand that "If no remark is added the era in which the MSS are dated, is Saṁvat." The age 1662[7] recorded in BÜHLER's list must, therefore, be saṁvat 1662 (= A.D. 1606). Presuming the correctness of BÜHLER's entries we must look upon this copy of *Rudrapaddhati* as the oldest dated MS of a work ascribed to an author of the name Āpadeva, even if we doubt the identity of this Āpadeva with the author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa.* In case we succeed in getting incontrovertible evidence to prove the identity of the author of the *Rudrapaddhati* with the author of the *Mīm. Nyā. Prakāśa* we shall be in a position to take the date of Āpadeva II to the last quarter of the 16th century. At present, however, the B. O. R. Institute MS of the *Mī-*

1. *Vide* my article on the "*Chronology of Khaṇḍadeva's Works*" in *Indian Culture* (D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Number)

2. *His. of Dharma,* I, p. 682.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 453—Jīvadeva, younger brother of Anantadeva, in his work *Āśaucanirṇaya* cites *Nirṇayasindhu* composed in 1611-12 A.D.

4. As Prof. EDGERTON has constituted his text on the basis of three *printed* editions (*Vide* Intro. to Āpadevī, p. 1) I recommend this MS to him for a critical edition of this useful text which appears to me a desideratum in spite of the numerous editions now available.

5. KANE : *His. of Dharma.* I, p. 682.

6. *Cata. of Sanskrit MSS* (in private libraries of Gujarat, etc.) Fascicule I, 1871, p. 2.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

māṁsānyāyaprakāśa copied on *7th September, 1659* provides the best MS evidence for the date of Āpadeva II.

On the basis of evidence recorded above the following conclusions may be arrived at :—

(1) The works *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* and the *Smṛticandrikā* are composed by the same author, *viz., Mīmāṁsaka Mahāmahopādhyāya* Āpadeva.

(2) The author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśikā* (also called *Āpadevī*) appears to be different from the author of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* and the *Smṛticandrikā.*

(3) It may be tentatively suggested that there is a possibility of the author of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* being identical with *Āpadeva* I, the grandfather of Āpadeva II (author of the *Āpadevī*) but this suggestion needs more evidence than what has been incidentally recorded in this paper.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD ALAṂKĀRA

By

J. GONDA, Utrecht.

For two reasons we may take an interest in the exact meaning of the words *alaṃkāra-*, *alaṃkṛta-* etc. in early Sanskrit literature. The first reason is the elucidation of a number of texts from the magical-religious point of view : here the question may be raised if *alaṃkāra* always means "ornament", i.e. "that which adds grace or beauty to a person or to a thing ; that which adorns, i.e. makes beautiful". The second reason bears on the history of Sanskrit literature. It is a well known fact that *alaṃkāra* also means "embellishment in poetry ; figure of speech etc.", as the lexicographers and other scholars are accustomed to translate it in English.

Now, the dictionaries seem to agree about the matter : *alaṃkāra* means : "(1) das Schmücken—(2) Schmuck, Zierath—(3) eine rhetorische Figur" (Petersburger Wörterbuch) ; "...ornament...an ornament of the sense or the sound" (MONIER-WILLIAMS) ; *alaṃkāra* "ornament" (CAPPELLER), *alaṃkārin* "adorning" (id.)

As is well known, we find the form *alam* in Vedic prose and in post-vedic literature ; Rigveda and Atharvaveda have the by-form *aram.*

In determining the meaning of this sort of words, it is an awkward and hazardous procedure to take the "etymology" as a starting-point. In that case we run the risk of adjudicating to the word in question the not-well-established meaning of a "root" or the prominent meaning of a cognate word in another language. If the etymology is not a certain one, so much the worse. Nevertheless, though I will found my explanations and translations on the texts themselves, I will, to be brief, also add some Greek texts and Latin words which, to my mind, give support to the supposition that *aram* and *alam* have the same origin as Gr. *ararískō,* "join—, fit together ; equip, furnish", *armenos* "fit, fitted, suited to, prepared, ready etc."[1] It seems to me that there is no ground for the view that *aram* (adv.) and *aramkar-* (verb) have a different origin.[2]

The meaning of class. *alam* has been recorded satisfactorily in the dictionaries and other handbooks, although, of course, we may differ with one another as to particulars. We know that *alam ativistareṇa* means "enough of prolixity", *alaṃ ākranditena* "stop your cries", *alaṃ viṣādena* "do not be sorry". So, sometimes *alam* with instr., gerund or infin. expresses a

1. Cp., for instance, WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik,* I, p. 220 ; E. BOISACQ, *Dict. étymologique de la langue* grecque[2] (1923), p. 73.

2. Cp. WALDE-POKORNY, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1 (1930), p. 69.—I do not agree with the view of UHLENBECK, *I.F.* 25, p. 143 f.

prohibition[1] : sometimes, on the other hand, "it is used with infin. in its proper sense of 'being enough' ", cp. Manu 2, 214 *avidvāṃsaṃ loke...| pramadā hy utpathaṃ netum,* where *alam* = *samarthāḥ* (Kullūka), "are able to...". Besides, *alaṃ mallo mallāya* means "one athlete is a match for another" (P. 2, 3, 16 Sch.) ; *daityebhyo 'laṃ hariḥ* (Vop. 5, 16). The last-mentioned shade of meaning, "being equal to,—a match for" is a more original one than "enough", which, in its turn, develops into "thoroughly, greatly" (*atyantam*).[2]—Cp. Pāli *alam eva* = *yuttam eva.*

When we review the passages in Vedic prose,[3] in which *alam* occurs, we may, in my opinion, conclude that the starting point of the semantic development must have been "being fit,—good,—sufficient,—suited for,—having strength enough for". Compare Śat. Br. 1, 4, 2, 1 the gods appointing Agni to the Hotṛ-office : *vīryavān vai tvam asi, alaṃ vai tvam etasmā asīti,* "thou art vigorous...equal to this" ; 4, 4, 5, 5 "although he is footless", *alam eva pratikramaṇāya bhavati* "he has strength enough for..., he is able to walk" ; Jaim. Br. § 186 (CALAND) *kumāri sthaviro vā ayam asarvo nālaṃ patitvanāya,...* "this old decrepit man is ill-matched with you as your husband, has no attainments to be y. h." ; Jaim. Br. § 102 *vivṛhe vā āvaṃ svo na tasmā alam,* "wir beiden sind verstümmelt, wir sind dieser (Sache) nicht gewachsen"[4] ; Ait. Ār. 2, 3, 6 *kāmebhyo nālaṃ syāt,* "he would be unable to have delights" ; Śat. Br. 12, 7, 2, 2 ; Ait. Br. 5, 30 ; Śat. Br. 9, 2, 1, 2 *alam* to injuring ; 3, 48 to eat food ; Nir. 2, 3 *yo ....a.* (able to) *vijñātum.*[5]

Then, with a slight modification of meaning Śat. Br. 5, 3, 2, 3 *yo'laṃ yaśase san na yaśo bhavati,* "being qualified for..." ; cp. 8, 6, 2, 1 *alaṃ śriyai* ; 5, 1, 1, 12 *na vai brāhmaṇo rājyāyālam,* "such as is required for, qualified for" ; 4, 1, 3, 6 ; "well-disposed" 4, 3, 4, 14.

Also the shade of meaning "fit, sufficient, enough" : Ait. Ār. 2, 4, 2, when the deities fell into the ocean, a cow and a horse were not *alam* (enough) for them to sit upon ; they offered a man to them, and then they said *sukṛtam* "like this it is suited", now they had made it *alam*, it was *alaṃ kṛtam* ; Śat. Br. 3, 9, 3, 32 ; 4, 2, 1, 31 the residues of oblations are (not) *alaṃ homāya* "(in) sufficient for offering" ; 3, 2, 1, 30 *yadā vai suṣamaṃ bhavaty athālaṃ yajñāya bhavati, yado duḥṣamaṃ bhavati na tarhy ātmane canālaṃ bhavati,* "when it is a good year then it is fit (there is abundant) for sacrifice, but when it is a bad year then it is not "fit" (there is not enough) even for himself" ; cp. 6, 5, 2, 1 ; Ait. Ār. 2, 5, 33. I derive the meaning of *a.* Manu 8, 16 *tasya (dharmasya) yaḥ kurute hy alam*[6] "who checks, violates the *dharma* from "being powerful enough,—a match for."

1. Cp. SPEYER, *Sanskrit syntax* (1886), §§ 353, R. 1 ; 379, Ia ; 384, R. 1.
2. Comm. *Ragh.* X, 80 ; *Siśup* IV, 39.
3. As for the varying constructions, cp. also *Pet. Wtb.* I, 458.
4. CALAND, *Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl, Verh. Kon. Ak. v. Wet.,* Amsterdam 1919, p. 116.
5. Cp. also *Pet. Wtb.*, s.v.
6. *alaṃśabdo vāraṇārthaḥ* Kull ; see Amarak, 3, 4, 32, 13 ; 3, 5, 11.

As for the passages in Vedic poetry where *aram* occurs, the translations given by various scholars now and then differ. As I take it, sometimes we have the meaning " ready, prepared, disposed to, fit, willing to ", in various shades of meaning Ṛ. V. 4, 32, 24 (horses) ; 1, 66, 5 (a wife, in a comparison) ; 2, 18, 2 (sacrificial fire) *sā́smā áram* " prepared," but also " willing " and " able " ; 9, 24, 5 (*Soma*) *áram índrasya dhā́mne*; cp. 10, 71, 10. 7, 66, 14 the sun is *víśvasmai cákṣase áram,* " in the condition that he might be seen." Ṛ. V. 1, 173, 6 *áraṃ ródasī kakṣyè nā́smai,* we have the meaning " fit " (as a girdle), which we might compare with Homer, Iliad 4, 134 (213) *Zōstēri arēroti,* " a well-fitting girdle ", cp. also Odyssey 2, 342. Ṛ V. 1, 108; 2 *tā́vāṃ ayám pā́tave sómo astv áram indrāgnī mánase yuvábhyām,* (the Soma juice :) prepared, and invigorating to your liking," cp. Homer, *Il* 1, 136... *arsantes kata thumon* they shall give a present, after having prepared it to my liking." ṚV. 2, 17, 6 *sā́smā áram bāhúbhyāṃ yám pitā́kṛṇod* ....here GELDNER[1] translates : " für seine Arme passend ", and thus we might compare Homer, *Il.* 3, 338...*enchos ho hoi palamēphin arērei* " the lance that fits in his hand " and latin *arma* " defensive weapons " such as shield, helmet, greaves and such like which adapt themselves to the body.[2] Yet the question might arise, if "comforting, invigorating " should not be the meaning : just as soma refreshes and invigorates him who drinks it, so the thunderbolt gives vigour and strength to him who wears it. And, in my opinion, we have to admit this meaning sometimes. 8, 92, 24 *áraṃ ta indra kuṣáye sómo bhavatu* was translated by GRASSMANN, Rig-Veda[3] : " (Der Soma) sei...passend deinem Leib ", perhaps " refreshing to, comforting " is more adequate ; then the god becomes powerful (26)[4] 6, 41, 5 *áraṃ te sómas tanvè bhavāti,* " wilkommen sei der Soma deinem Leibe " (GRASSMANN[5]) " refreshing, invigorating to ", we might compare Homer, Od. 5, 95. *epei deipnēse kai ērare thumon edōdēi.*

Here we must add 1, 70, 5 : Agni is the protector of riches *dā́śad yó asmā áraṃ sūktáiḥ,* translated by OLDENBERG[6] " to the man who satisfies him with well spoken (prayers)", by GELDNER[7] " der ihm...pünktilich aufwartet ", by GRASSMANN[8] " der gerne ihm dient ", etc.

Here we must, in my opinion, recall to mind the great importance of the word in magic and religion.[9] The word of man, just as the word of the deity, had a magical, a creative power. In various religions magical formula and prayer cannot be kept apart. Just as the gift (the offering),

1. K. F. GELDNER, *Der Rigveda,* p. 268.
2. Cp. also A. ERNOUT—A. MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étymologique le da langue latine,* p. 69 : " armes défensives qui s'ajustent au corps ".
3. H. GRASSMANN, *Rig-veda ubersetzt etc.* 1876, I, p. 507.
4. Cp. this place with 8, 45, 10.
5. *O.c.,* I, p. 266.
6. S. B. E., Vol. 46.
7. K. F. GELDNER, *Der Rigveda übersetzt und erläutert* I, p. 82.
8. *O.c.* II, p. 71.
9. See, for instance, G. VAN DER LEEUW, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (1938), p. 422,

the word is able to increase the power of the deity (energetic prayer[1]). When this belief is weakened, the conception arises that the deity rejoices at the sacrifices and the words ("prayers, hymns" etc.) and becomes kindly-disposed by them.

The enumeration of acts of heroism, exploits and achievements, manifestations of power of the god have in view, among other things, the increase of his power. In India also the power of speech was great[2], *yāṃ kāmāye táṃ tam ugráṃ kṛṇomi,* says the Goddess herself (Ṛ.V. 10, 125, 5), "upon speech all the gods live". Thus, 1, 70, 5 the meaning of *aram* may be "in a sufficient way", that is to say "in a way that has power, and adds power to....." or in the weakened sense something like OLDENBERG'S translation. 7, 29, 3 *kā́ te* (= Indra) *asty áraṃkṛtiḥ sūktaíḥ* ; GRASSMANN translated a : "Zurichtung, Dienst",[3] I should like to interpret : "how can we strengthen (refresh ; rejoice etc.) you ?" As far as I see we have no reason to translate *araṃkṛti-* by the French "parure" (= ornament etc.[4]). In the same way the word *araṃkṛt-* may be "he who makes (another) *aram ;* he who makes fit, ready, sufficient, strong enough etc. Sāyaṇa (ad Ṛ. V. 1, 14, 5) says *a.* = *alaṃkartāraḥ* but it is not necessary to translate : "ceux qui ornent" :[5] *káṇvāso vṛktábarhiṣaḥ havíṣmanto araṃkṛtaḥ* (cp. 8, 5, 17) "preparing, arranging (the sacrifice[6]), fitting (it) out in such a way that it answers its purpose". 8, 1, 10, *íṣam... araṃkṛ́tam,* "Labetrunk...der Segen bringt"[7] is a somewhat inadequate rendering, but would be better than : "who adorns"; I translate : "refreshing". In this way, 8, 67, 3 *ādityā́nām araṃkṛ́te* would be "for him who makes the Ādityas fit,...who refreshes...etc." Now, 7, 86, 7 we find *aram* + *kṛ-*, with "tmesis" and dative : *áraṃ dāsó ná mīḍhúṣe karāṇi,* "as a servant I will supply His Grace (= Varuṇa) with everything needed" or perhaps more to the letter "I will do (make) for him what is fit for him", which develop into "I will gladden him etc.". Cp. 4, 33, 2. *atyā́yāhi śáśvato vayáṃ té 'raṃ sutébhiḥ kṛṇavāma sómaiḥ,* they say (3, 35, 5) to Indra, "we will supply thee with the expressed soma juice", if so "wir wollen es dir mit...recht machen".[8] As we have seen the offering is intended to give strength to the god, to feed him[9] ; in the Sūktavāka

1. See also ṚV. 1, 85, 2, where Sāyaṇa refers to Ait. Br. 3, 20 ; *gíras. . . apasyúvah* ṚV. 9, 2, 7 ; ṚV. 8, 6, 11 *gírah yénénaraḥ śúṣmam id dadhé* ; ṚV. 1, 10, 12, 5, 2, 7 ; 5, 11, 5 ; 8, 62, 1 ; 66, 11 ; AV. 1, 15, 2 " increase (*vardhayatā*) this man, ye songs ; 1, 29, 1 ; 1, 35, 3 ; 4, 39, 1. Hanumat being praised *vyavardhata,* Rām. 467. 4f.

2. See H. OLDENBERG, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft (1919), pp 78 ff.

3. H. GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda* (1873), 101 ; cp. his *Rig-Veda,* I, p. 325.

4. DIWEKAR *Fleurs de rhétorique,* p. 4 (§ 7).

5. DIWEKAR, p 4 (§ 6).

6. Cp. GELDNER, o.c., p. 13.

7. GRASSMANN, *Rig-veda,* I, 386.

8. Cp GELDNER, o.c. p. 338.

9. Cp. for instance, Pañcav. Br. 14, 6, 8, 1,

formula uttered near the end of the sacrifice it is said : "The god has accepted the offering, he has become strengthened, he has gained greater strength."[1] The idea is expressed also 2,5,8 *yáthā vidvā́ṃ áraṃ kárad víśvebhyo yajatébhyaḥ.*

By the side of these examples the construction with accusative[2] is found. 1, 170, 4 *áraṃ kṛṇvantu védim,* which I should not like to translate : "den Altar mögen schmücken sie"[3], but "to prepare..., to make ready the sacrificial bed" ;[4] we must pay attention to Sāyaṇa's note : *araṃ kṛṇvantu saṃmārjanaparyukṣaṇādinā paricarantu.* . Hemacandra says (Anekārthas. 2, 234) a vedi is an *alaṃkṛtabhūtala-*, that means a prepared part of the soil, by other lexicographers called *pariṣkṛtabhūtala-, pariṣkṛtā bhūmiḥ.*[5] *As for pari-skr-*compare ṚV. 9, 46, 2 ; 43, 3 ; 10, 135, 7 ; 85, 6 etc. Compare also 3, 31, 12 *pitré cic cakruḥ sádanaṃ sám asmai,*[6] where "prepare", Germ. "bereiten" ; 3, 35, 8 ; 6, 41, 3 ; 5, 76, 2 ; *rā́ṇāya sáṃskṛtaḥ* 8, 33, 9, with *sam+skṛ-*. Then, 10, 63, 6 *kó vo' dhvaráṃ...karad,* "prepare the sacrifice" ; 10, 101, 2 *iṣkṛṇudhvam āyudhāram kṛṇudhvam,* here the rendering of GRASSMANN[7] and DIWEKAR[8] is incorrect : "make ready".

GELDNER[9] accepted the two meanings mentioned by Sāyaṇa : *paryāpta-* and *śīghra.*[10] PISCHEL believed the second to be the more original.[11] It seems to me that *śīghram* at best is a mere shade of meaning, a secondary meaning. We must not overlook the fact that in all the examples of *aram+gam-* the dative is found too. 1, 187, 5 (to the nourishment) *áram bhakṣā́ya gamyāḥ,* of the thing (cp. *alam* in Vedic prose) "sufficient, etc."; 7, 68, 2, of the person, *áraṃ gantuṃ havíṣo vītáye me* "ready to" ; cp. 6, 63, 2 ; 10, 9, 3 "in favour of" ; in the same way *araṃgamá-*, cp. for instance AV. 3, 13, 5 "invigorating."

The word *araṃkṛta-* is found in AV. firstly 2, 12, 7 in a much discussed[12] sūkta "against such as would thwart my incantations," cp. Kauśikasūtra 47, 12 ff., where it is designated as "the cleaver of Bharadvāja", "with which one cuts a staff for practices pertaining to witchcraft".[13] Now,

1. See A. HILLEBRANDT, *Das Altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer,* p. 144.
2. Cp. *alam + bhavati* or *asti* in Vedic prose.
3. GRASSMANN, o.c., p. 167.
4. Cp. also GELDNER, o.c. p. 224.
5. *Medink* d. 15 ; *Amarak,* 2, 7, 17.
6. See GELDNER, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl,* II, p. 51.
7. *o.c.* II, p. 383.
8. *o.c.* p. 2 (§ 3).
9. In PISCHEL and GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* II, p. 256.
10. Cp. Sāyaṇa ad Ṛ. V. 7, 68, 2.
11. PISCHEL and GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* II, p. 75.
12. Cp. M. BLOOMFIELD, *American Journal of Philology* 11, pp. 330 ff.; BLOOMFIELD, *Hymns of the Atharva-veda,* S. B. E. 42, p. 294 ; WHITNEY-LANMAN, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā,* I, pp. 53 f.
13. Cp. BLOOMFIELD. S. B. E. 42, p. 295.

as has been set forth by BLOOMFIELD,[1] the verses 7 and 8 of this sūkta, which occur also in Paippalāda in the verse-order 8, 7, represent a modification of funeral verses for the purpose of injuring an enemy : cp. v. 6 *átīva yó... mányate.... tápūṃsi tásmai vṛjināni santu,* "whoso.... thinks himself above us.... burnings must be for him his wrong-doings", 7 in different metre.... *áyā yamásya sā́danam agnídūto áraṃkṛtaḥ,* "thou shalt go to the seat of Yama.... "; here the address to a deceased one has been adapted for another purpose too and also made a menace against an enemy ; it has been made an execration. Its original use we find AV. 18, 2, 1 *yamā́ya sómaḥ pavate yamā́ya kriyate havíḥ | yamáṃ ha yajñó gachaty agnídūto áraṃkṛtaḥ* to which compare ṚV. 10, 14, 13 *y. sómaṃ sunuta y. juhutā haviḥ,* etc., with which agrees TĀ. 6, 5, 1, where, however, in c it says *gachatu.* Now, Kauśikasūtra informs us of the use of this verse : 81, 34-37, which form, as has been observed by CALAND,[2] one single whole, indicate eleven verses that are to be used to accompany the *yāmān homān* the (eleven) oblations to Yama, offered in the pitṛmedha after the lighting of the fire.[3] As is clear from the mantra itself it is the yajña that is *aram-kṛtaḥ* : " .... to Yama goes the sacrifice, messengered by Agni, made satisfactory," as runs the translation of WHITNEY-LANMAN, "fitly prepared with Agni as a guide", "wohl bereitet, mit Agni als Führer", as the renderings of BLOOMFIELD and HILLEBRANDT[4] respectively read. Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on Tait. Ār. 6, 5, 1[5]; explains : *araṃkṛtah : bahubhir dravyair alaṅkārarūpair yuktaḥ.*

We must compare AV. 12, 1, 22 *bhū́myāṃ devébhyo dadati yajñáṃ havyám áraṃkṛtam,* "on the earth men give to the gods the sacrifice, the duly prepared oblation". Here as well as in 18, 2, 1 the meaning is clear : *araṃkṛta-* = "which has been adapted to its destination ; to which has been conferred the qualities that will make it fit". And 2, 12, 7 where the pāda has been adapted and where the subject is the enemy who is driven away with curses, we should like to translate : " (brought by Agni) after having been consecrated ; after having received the funeral ceremonies." These ceremonies, indeed, prepare the deceased for their admission to Yama's dominion. It is a well-known fact that after the moment of death the man was washed and anointed, his hair, beard and nails were trimmed, a garland and a new and fresh garment were laid upon him.[6] Not before all this had

1. BLOOMFIELD, *Am. J. of Phil.* 7, p. 476 ; 11, 334 ff.; *Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.* 1887 (*JAOS*, 13), p. CCXXV ; cp. also WHITNEY-LANMAN, *o.c.*, pp. 55 f.

2. W. CALAND, *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, Verhandelingen Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen, Amsterdam* 1896, p. 65.

3. Cp. also WHITNEY-LANMAN, o.c., II, p. 827.

4. A. HILLEBRANDT, *Vedische Mythologie*, II, p. 369 ; "fertig" CALAND, o.c., p. 64

5. Bibliotheca Indica, vol. 52. The 6th prapāṭhaka contains the pitṛmedha-6, 1 the cremationary rites, etc.

6. Cp CALAND, o.c., pp. 14 ff.; A. B. KEITH, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 418.

been done the deceased was duly prepared for the offering; according to some authorities the burning indeed was an āhuti in the fire;[1] it was regarded as an expedient to attain the regions of heaven. Now, Chānd. Up. 8, 8, 5 informs us: *pretasya śarīṃ bhikṣayā*[2] *vasanenālaṃkāreṇeti satkurvanti, etena hy amuṃ lokaṃ jeṣyanto manyante,* "the body of one deceased they supply with what they have begged, with dress, with a., for they think that thereby they will win yonder world". It is evident enough that the words *alaṃkṛta-* and *alaṃkāra-* not only denote the idea of "adorn, beautify, ornament, add grace or beauty", but also that of "provide, make ready and fit for a purpose, prepare, etc."

AV. 10, 1 belongs to a class of sūkta's called *kṛtyāpratiharaṇāni,* "repellers of sorceries or spells". Here the spell which is counteracted has its seat in a terrifying and evil-working figure ("bugbear", "eine Art Puppe, ein Popanz").[3] Strophe 25 runs as follows: *abhyaktāktа svaraṃkṛtā sárvaṃ bhárantī duritā́ṃ ápehi,* etc., "anointed, smeared, svaraṃkṛta go thou away (O kṛtyā), bearing every misfortune". The word *svaraṃkṛtā* means, I think, "duly furnished, well-equipped[4] with things that put the evil in the kṛtyā and increase its magical power. And although Kauś. 39, 18 and commentaries are silent about the *alaṃkāra,* we may suppose that bracelets, necklaces and this sort of things are meant, as we learn, for instance, from the description of an image of Night made of meal (*piṣṭarātrī*) in Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 4, 3-5 and 6, where 4, 3, 1 *atha piṣṭamayīṃ rātriṃ......|arcitāṃ gandhamālyena sthāpayet*; 4, 4, 9 .... *iti pratisaram*[5] *ābadhya*; 6, 1, 6 *chattraṃ hiraṇmayaṃ*[6] *dadyāc .... dadyāc chubhrāṇi vāsāṃsi,* etc.[7] The translation "well-adorned" given by WHITNEY-LANMAN is not quite correct.

In Kauśika-sūtra the words occur several times. Kauś. 35, 23........ *prācīnakaṇṭakān alaṃkṛtān......ādadhāti,* rightly translated by CALAND:[8] ".... nach Osten gerichtete Dörner....., (mit Schmalz) beschmiert..... legt er aufs Feuer". An informing place is 28, 9-10. In a remedial rite against possession by evil spirits one puts pulverised śamī-leaves in the food and *alaṃkāra* of the patient. The commentary of Dārila (D schol.)

1. CALAND, *o.c.,* pp. 18; 175; KEITH, *o.c.,* p. 422.
2. ŚAṄKARA: *bhikṣā*: *gandhamālyānnādilakṣaṇā.*
3. Cp. BLOOMFIELD, S. B. E. 42, p. 603; CALAND, *Altindisches Zauberritual* Verh. Kon. Ak. v. Wet., Amsterdam 1900, p. 132, n. 1. The remark of WHITNEY-LANMAN, *o.c.,* II, p. 562 "*she* because kṛtyā 'witchcraft' is feminine" is incorrect, not "witchcraft" but a figure is meant. As for the word *kṛtyā,* we may compare the word *fetish,* "a thing which is supposed to have a magical power, and is therefore worshipped", which derives from lat. *factitius* "made by the hands of man and not by nature"; in Portuguese *feitiço* means "factitious", and "amulet; charm" (lat. *facit*=skt. *karoti*).
4. Cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, p. 75.
5. Cp. J. GONDA, in *Acta Orientalia,* 15, pp. 311ff.
6. Gold also was highly beneficial, cp. e.g., AV. 1, 35, 1; 14, 1, 40.
7. Cp. the edition of BOLLING and VON NEGELEIN, 1909, pp. 60 and 70.
8. CALAND, *Altind. Zauberritual,* p. 118.

has *athavālaṃkāre cūrṇāni prakṣipyālaṃkuryāt, piśācagṛhītāya.* CALAND interprets "…. (tut er) in die Augensalbe und Salbe des Kranken und lässt ihn sich damit scmücken"[1], adding the remark *alaṃkāraḥ=āñjanābhyañjane.* Parallel passages are 36, 33, where the Paddhati of Keśava[2] having *alaṃkāraṃ samālabhate* also thinks of unguent and anointing, and 47, 23, where in 24 in a rite of sorcery for the death of one's enemies this dveṣya- must be slain with a staff that has been *alaṃkṛta-* "smeared, anointed", doubtless with the ointment mentioned in 23. It would be wrong to explain *alaṃkṛta-* as "adorned, made beautiful, etc." In addition to the cosmetic, sanative, decorative and other merits, fat and other unguents, regarded as a seat of life and strength, in the magical-religious sphere of thought, have a potent virtue. The anointing transmits the divine essence to the person to whose body the fat, etc. is applied.[3] The striking with a staff confers the magical substance on him : elsewhere straps, or a shredded animal's skin are used in this way.[4]

Kauś. 48, 3 an amulet derived from the aśvattha-tree, upon which an oblation has been poured out and which is *alaṃkṛta-* is bound round ; cp. Dārila (D schol.) : *alaṃkaraṇaṃ ghṛtena* ; 4 we read :…. *pāśān iṅgiḍālaṃkṛtān saṃpātavataḥ….*, "bonds besmeared with ingida-oil[5] and with the residue of the butter offering". This residue, the saṃpāta, is an important ingredient in the magic offerings, and the iṅgiḍa too is often mentioned as such ; these liquids possess a magical power.

In Kauś. 47, 44 the lack of every aesthetic element is obvious. In a long incantation against an enemy we read *nivṛtya svedālaṃkṛtā juhoti* after 43 *paścād agneḥ śarabhṛṣṭīr nidhāyodagvrajaty ā svedajananāt.* So he produces sweat and with that he anoints reed-points : these reed-points he offers.[6] Here the sweat is not an ornament, but a magical ingredient, a medium that sets sorcery in motion against an enemy. The commentators, both Dārila and Keśava, explain *a.* : *abhyaktā(ḥ)* (D.), *°aktāḥ* (K.). In a rite that is in line with the one mentioned, Bṛh. ār. up. 6, 4, 12, the word *akta-* occurs : *śarabarhiḥ stīrtvā tasminn etāḥ śarabhṛṣṭīḥ pratilomāḥ sarpiṣāktā juhuyāt.*

Kauś. 13, 12 the verb *alamkṛ-* is found in a prescription for expelling the wasting disease yakṣma ; here too *alaṃkurute* seems to me to have the same meaning, "einreiben, salben", not "schmücken"; Dārila (D. schol.) says

1. CALAND, *o.c.*, p. 89.
2. In the edition, *JAOS.* 14 (1890), p. 338.
3. Cp., for instance, HASTINGS' *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, I, 549ff.
4. In Rome during the Lupercalia, see e.g. LEFÉBURE in *Revue de l'hist. des Rel.* 59 (1909), p. 75 ; O. BERTHOLD, *Unverwundbarkeit in Sage und Aberglauben der Griechen*, RGVV. XI, 1, p. 10.
5. As for iṅgiḍa, see CALAND, *o.c.*, p. 159, n. 5.
6. See CALAND, *o.c.*, p. 165, n. 37. As for the rite in general V. HENRY, *La magie dans l'Inde antique* (1909), p. 237f.: "brûler l'ennemi… par (le feu) de la chaleur humaine" ; as for the magical power of sweat in general : HASTINGS' *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, 12, 127. See also OLDENBERG, *Religion des Veda*, p. 500.

anulimpati surabhigandhair....[1] According to Keśava sandal and other perfumes should be used and, I think, these will serve as an unguent. As the odours of fragrant trees are used to drive away demons,[2] we also find in this place a magical function of the *alaṃkāra-*, just as Kauś. 54, 5, where the same strophes 12, 1, 23-25 are recited during the godānam; here two paddhatis add *gandhapuṣpādi.*

The words also occur in places in the Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda. 3, 1, 3 we have *alaṃkāra-* in an enumeration[3]: *rathasiṃhāsanāsichattracāmaradhvajagajavājivastrālaṃkārasāṃvatsaracikitsakapurohitādīni.* 4, 1, 5 it is found in a description of the rite of the morning blessing of each article of the king's equipment. The purohita gives the king his clothes, his seat, etc., each thing with a suitable mantra, the *alaṃkāra* whilst reciting AV. 1, 35, 1 "what gold the descendants of Dakṣa..., that I bind for thee, in order to life, splendour, strength." In Kauś. (11, 19; 52, 20) this mantra is used in ceremonies for fortune and for power; there it is clear that the thing bound round is a gold amulet.[4] Thus we may suppose that also AV. Par. 4, 1, 5 a gold amulet is meant. In the same text, 18b, 1, 2 the same mantra is recited *puṣpādyalaṃkāraṃ varjayitvā;* AV. Par. 13, 1, 7 in connection with the twining of a golden wreath. AV. Par. 11 is a description of the ritual for the presentation of the king's weight in gold to the priest; in 1, 9 we read *vāso gandhasrajaś cābadhnīyāt,* "he must tie (on the king) clothes, perfumes, garlands," 1, 12 *ātmālaṃkārān kartre dadyāt;* is it bold to suppose that the *alaṃkāra* in 12 are the objects enumerated in 9?[5]

An interesting place is 1, 31, 7 II=35, 3 I *kumārīṃ dadhipātreṇa gṛhītena svalaṃkṛtām,* a maiden in possession of a sour-milk-jug. Is there room here to admit a beautiful ornament? It is, however, likely that the instrumental does not depend on *sv.*

Just as in Kauśika, we find in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa an instance of the magical-religious use of ointment for the eyes and for the feet (*āñjanābhyāñjana-*), "such are human *alaṃkāra-* and therewith they keep off death from themselves" (13, 8, 4, 7). In the Śāṅkhāyana-āraṇyaka 3, 4, where the text describes the path after Death we read that 500 apsarases come towards the dead man, a 100 with fruit in their hands, a 100 with unguents, a 100 with garlands, a 100 with garments, a 100 with aromatic powders. "Him they adorn with the ornaments of Brahman. He adorned with the ornaments of B, knowing B., advances to B. (n)";[6] here too these *alaṃkārāḥ* are not merely things that are pleasing to the eye. Cp. Kauṣ. Up. 1, 4.

So *alaṃkāra-* is a magical-religious expedient. It applies to a sacred state. In the description of the daily study of the Veda, the Śatapatha-

1. Cp. CALAND, *o.c.*, p. 26.
2. See KEITH, *o.c.*, 384.
3. Cp. also 13, 1, 10; 4, 7.
4. Cp. CALAND, *Altind. Zauberritual*, p. 22.
5. Cp. also 70, 3, 4.
6. Translation of KEITH, *The Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (1908), p. 19.

brāhmaṇa has (11, 5, 7, 4) *yadi ha vā apy abhyaktaḥ alaṃkṛtaḥ suhitaḥ sukhe śayane śayānaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte.* The same text, 13, 4, 1, 8 (aśvamedha) "the four wives of the king are *niṣkinyo 'laṃkṛtāḥ* wearing golden ornaments for the neck and *alaṃkārāḥ*", when they co-operate in a part of the rite. Compare also Kauś. 60, 25 (*savayajñāḥ*) (*brāhmaṇīm*, Keśava) *anuguptām alaṃkṛtām.* During the funeral rites : Kauś. 80, 17 *snātam alaṃkṛtam ahatena vasanena prachādayati,* bathing and clothing with a new dress are religious acts too.[1] The words "bathed," "adorned" and "dressed" we find many a time, cp., for instance, Hir. G. 1, 1, 7 (upanayana), where the commentary adds *a.* : *mālyānulepanādimaṇḍitaḥ.* See Āśv. Śr. S. 6, 10, 2 etc.

During the marriage ceremonies the bride is washed, dressed in a new garment, anointed, etc. Here too we find the "ornaments".[2] But it is a curious fact that Āpast. (G. S. 4, 8) only mentions the new garment and then says that she is to be girdled with a yoke-cord. We know this girdling from the śrauta ritual, where—according to Śat. Br. 1, 3, 1, 13—it is intended to make a person pure and fit for a sacrifice (*medhya-*)[3] "Wives adorned for their husbands" we find already in the AV. (5, 12, 5).

See also Ṣaḍv. Br. 4, 4, 14, where the yūpa is object : *āplāvayanty alaṃkurvanty ahatena vasanenāchādayanti ca.* Ath. V. Par. 4, 2, 1 ff. as a part of the daily ceremonies of the king : *snāto'bhiṣekamantrair abhimantritaḥ.... anuliptaḥ.... vastrālaṃkārādibhiḥ suvarnaniṣkam.... saṃgṛhya.* The goddess Lakṣmī resides not only in a man who observes approved usages, in him who is devoted to sacred law, in him who keeps his mind under control, etc., but also in the men who constantly are "adorned" with flowers, scented with perfumes or adorned with bracelets, etc. (Viṣṇusmṛti, 99, 18ff). The sacrificial cakes too may be subject to an *alaṃkaraṇa,* the "Schmückung des Opferkuchens";[4] then the dish is poured over in a distinct way with clarified butter.[5] Here too it is a religious act, not an æsthetical notion.[6]

But, as is well-known, many articles that are hung round the neck, breast, arms or other limbs are not only amulets, talismans or dress which put the wearer in a "sacred" state, but they are also ornaments, and, at times, merely trinkets.[7] Doubtless their functions are different : at one time the first function will prevail ; when, however, more attention is paid to the outward appearance of the amulet or sacred dress, the other will have the upper hand. Thus, during the preparation of the soma altar with the high altar, the Śat. Br., 3, 5, 1, 36, has : "he then bestrews it with gravel ;

1. Cp. OLDENBERG, *Rel. d. Veda;* KEITH, *Religion and Philosophy,* passim.
2. Cp. KEITH, *Rel. and Phil.,* p. 374 ; HILLEBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur,* p. 65.
3. See also WINTERNITZ, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell,* p. 48.
4. CALAND, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba,* III (Verh. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. *Amsterdam,* 1928), p. 457.
5. Cp. CALAND ad Āpast. Śr. 6. 29, 20 ; 8, 2, 10 ; 9.
6. See also Śat. Br. 4, 2, 5, 11 *puroḍāśam alaṃkuru.*
7. See my paper in *Acta Orientalia,* 15, p. 319.

alaṃkāro nv eva sikatā(ḥ)," now gravel is an *a.*, *bhrājanta iva sikatā(ḥ)*, 'because gravel is so to say shining'.

Also in post-vedic literature the double aspect of the meaning of these words is evident. Manu 3, 68, e.g. *ūnadvivārṣikaṃ pretaṃ nidadhyur bāndhavā bahiḥ | alaṃkṛtya śucau bhūmau* ... , "when a child has died before the completion of its second year, the relatives shall carry it out, deck it (with garlands, flowers &c ; *mālādibhir alaṃkṛtya* Kull. and bury it) in pure ground...." This burying too is a religious act. The sacrificial bed or altar is *alaṃkṛta-*, e.g. Rām. 1, 73, 21 *alaṃcakāra tāṃ vediṃ gandhapuṣpaiḥ samantataḥ | suvarṇapālikābhiś ca citrakumbhaiś ca sāṅkuraiḥ | aṅkurāḍhyaiḥ śarāvaiś ca dhūpapātraiḥ sadhūpakaiḥ | śaṅkhapātraiḥ sruvaiḥ srugbhiḥ*, etc. ; but these objects are not merely ornaments ! How many things can be called *alaṃkāra* appears also in other places, for instance Baudh. G. Par. Sūtra,[1] 3, 4, where the rite of worship of Upaśruti is described : *gandhaiḥ kṛṣṇapuṣpair dhūpair dīpair alaṃkṛtya.* Now, compare Kāl. Śak. 4, 0, where Śakuntalā's saubhāgyadevatā is to be worshipped and flowers are gathered for the offering by Priyaṃvadā and Anasūyā : *alaṃ ettiehiṃ kusumehiṃ* "with so many flowers 'it' (the deity) will be *alam*" "so many flowers will do".

In places we find a social side of *alaṃkṛta-*, "wearing his badges of honour, the insignia of his dignity": Manu 7, 222 "the king shall inspect his warriors, chariots, etc. *alaṃkṛtaḥ* (*kṛtālaṃkāraḥ san* Kull.) 'wearing his insignia, his robes of state'". Compare, Mahābh. 7, a. 82, the description of Yudhiṣṭhira's awakening, bathing and dressing : he does not welcome Kṛṣṇa and the other nobles until he wears his *bhūṣaṇāni.* Cp. also Mbh. 3, 77, 1 (Nala) ; 1, 185, 23.

Elsewhere the aspect of "beautify" and "beautiful things" prevails : Manu 9, 92 "Manu assigned to women a love of their bed, of their seat and ornaments." And thus we often meet with *kanyāḥ svalaṃkṛtāḥ* (e.g. Mbh. 5. 173, 12) ; *gaṇikāḥ sval.* (Mbh. 4, 68, 29), Yājñ. 1, 84. Jātakamālā 22, 11 the shore of a beautiful lake is embellished by the pollen of lotuses, etc. as it were with gold-wires : *abhyalaṃkṛtatīrānta-*, and 13 the same lake is *alaṃkṛta-* by the limpidity of its water. Raghuvaṃśa 2, 18 the cow and the king decorated (*alaṃcakratuḥ*) the road with their beautiful gaits ; 10, 70.

When used of horses (e.g. Mbh. 7, 82, 18), of troops (e.g. Mbh. 3, 54, 11) and such like, the meaning of *alaṃkṛta-* etc. is interesting : "well-equipped", but, of course, often the equipment of a royal horse, or of a horse that is intended to be a fee to the priests is at the same time a thing of beauty.

As has already been noticed at times the words *alam+kṛ-* and *sam+skṛ-* run parallel. I cannot dwell on the meanings of *sam + skṛ-*, which

1. See P. HARTING, *Selections from the Baudhāyana-gṛhyapariśiṣṭasūtra*, Diss. Utrecht, 1922, p. 16.

indeed, are well-known to my readers. I only point at a few texts : ṚV. 1, 2, 1 *sómā áraṃkṛtāḥ*, where GELDNER correctly : " die Somasäfte sind fertig " ;[1] here Sāyaṇa says : *a.* : *alaṃkṛtāḥ abhiṣavādisaṃskāro 'laṃkāraḥ* Rām. 5, 89, 19 G. the sacrifice (*yajña-*) is called *susaṃskṛta-*, "well arranged, prepared ", ṚV. 1, 162, 5 we read *téna yajñéna svàraṃkṛtena,* and here Sāyaṇa adds : *s.* : *suṣṭhv araṃīṃ kṛtena svalaṃkṛtena vā uccārasauṣṭhavādinā suṣṭhu saṃpāditena..* ṚV. 1, 38, 12 *súsaṃskṛtā abhī́śavaḥ* (*santu*) " ±solid and well-made must be your reins ", compare Sāyaṇa : *s.* : *aśvabandhanarajjuparigraheṇa svalamkṛtāḥ sāvadhānāḥ santu.*[2]

That *saṃskāra-* " einem bestimmten Zwecke entsprechends Verfahren mit Etwas " is met with in connexion with various other words, is evident when we cast a glance at Pet. Wtb. VII, 488. I draw the attention to the expression *vācaḥ saṃskārālaṃkṛtam śubham,* found in the Rāmāyaṇa, 7, 4, 8,[3] which refers to grammatically correct speech[4]. Properly and correctly pronounced speech is *saṃskṛta-* and accordingly it attains its object, is successful, says Kālidāsa, Ragh. 10, 36, were Mallinātha remarks *saṃskāraḥ* : *sādhutvaspaṣṭatādiprayatno yasyāḥ 'sā.* Speech, and especially religious speech, a vedic verse, must be recited with the proper accents and with grammatical purity (correct pronunciation) ; otherwise, as is explicitly stated in the *Śikṣā*, it is not only ineffective, but noxious : *mantro hīnaḥ svarato varṇato vā mithyāprayukto na tam artham āha, sa vāgvajro yajamānaṃ hinasti* ; see also Rām. 5, 15, 39 (NNS.) *duḥkhena bubudhe sītāṃ hanuman analaṃkṛtām*[5] *śaṃskāreṇa yathā hīnām vācam arthāntaraṃ gatām.* What to Sītā, who is separated from her husband, is the absence of her " ornaments ", is to a word the absence of grammatical correctness : both, Sītā and the word, are hardly to be recognized,[6] Chānd. Up. 2, 22, 5 says : *sarve svarā ghoṣavanto balvanto vaktavyāḥ* : *Indre balam dadānīti,* see Ṛkpr. 766, 760 etc.

We come to the meaning of *alaṃkāra* as a technical term in the Indian science of poetry. Here I may refer to the short paper of KANE[7], so rich in its contents, and the learned discussion of JACOBI,[8] where peculiarities about the meaning of this word in works on poetry are communicated.

1. GELDNER, *Der Rigveda ubersetzt, etc.*, I (1923), p. 2.
2. As for the interpretation of the verb *piṃśati* (cp. DIWEKAR, p. 2, § 3, who discusses ṚV. 10, 53, 7, *raśanā....piṃśata*), I refer to the dictionaries ; the root *piś-* (" carve, cut up, arrange, etc.") does not prove either that *alamkṛ-* should always mean " to adorn ".
3. Mbh. 13, 2321. *vānī saṃskārabhūṣaṇā,* etc., and often elsewhere ; cp. also Mbh. 3, 136, 9.
4. Rāmatilaka : *s.* : *padavākyārthasaṃskārayutam.*
5. *analaṃkṛtām* : *saṃskāreṇati, snānānulepanādiraṅgasaṃskāraḥ* (Rāmat.).
6. I also refer to the use of the word *saṃskāra* in the Prātiśākhyas, cp. WEBER, *I. S.* IV, 68 : " die Zurechtmachung der in padapāṭha stehenden Wörter für den *saṃhitāpāṭha.*"
7. P. V. KANE, *Outlines of the history of alaṃkāra literature*, in Indian Antiquary 41 (1912), pp. 124ff. and 204ff.
8. H. JACOBI, *Über Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren in der indischen Poetik, Nachrichten Göttingen* 1908, pp. 1ff.

As pointed out by KANE and other scholars,[1] the word *alaṃkāraśāstra*- was used in a wider sense "the science of poetic art, including everything that makes poetry attractive", and, roughly speaking, in later times, in a narrower one, the (more limited) science of the "figures of speech". In the one and the other case, however, it embraces in its sphere the description of several embellishments which distinguish the work of a poet from an unpoetical composition. As appears from the introduction of an authoritative native work on the subject, the Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin, according to "the methods laid down by the great experts" (1, 9) the *alaṃkārāḥ* present a contrast to the body of poetry (1, 10), and this body is *iṣṭārthavyavachinnā padāvalī*, "a series of words able to convey a settled meaning". And 2, 1 we learn that the *dharmāḥ* ("Bestandteile") that give beauty to poetry are called *a.* (*kāvyaśobhākarān dharmān alaṃkārān pracakṣate*). Vāmana in his Kāvyālamkārasūtras, 1, 2 defines : *saundaryam alaṃkāraḥ*, "*a.* is beauty". Ānandavardhana (Dhvanik. II, 7, p. 78) argues that as guṇas are the properties of the soul of poetry as bravery is a property of the human mind, so figures of speech are purely ornaments that enhance the inherent beauty of poetry, as golden ornaments set off the beauty of a person. And, to wind up with, in Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpaṇa, 10, 1 (=361) we meet with the same simile :.... *ye dharmāḥ śobhātiśayinaḥ... alaṃkārās te 'ṅgadādivat*, "the *a*....that are like bracelets and so on," and the commentary adds : "as bracelets and the like redound to the man's advantage by adding to his beauty, so alliteration, simile and so on, which, by promoting the beauty of word and sense aid the rasa, etc., are (called) *a.*"

And, in fact, everyone who has read the works belonging to the kāvya-literature knows that there the poets try to embellish their work and to overtrump each other in art and tricks, whether the results may be to our liking or not. But we must ask ourselves : Has the character of the stylistic phenomena that are described by the alamkāraśāstra always been the same? Have they always been nothing but embellishments? Many of them, indeed, are artificial products, but a number of these phenomena were known very early : Yāska in his Nirukta gives a definition of the *upamā* (simile),[2] in the sūtras of Pāṇini are found the terms *upamā, upamāna* etc., in the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra (16, 41) the term *yamaka*- occurs, and so on. And as early as the Ṛgveda, as has occasionally been noticed by several scholars,[3] in the texts themselves these "figures of speech", as they are often named, occur. Now, were they, as far back as the Ṛgveda, embellishments, ornaments, and no-

1. See also M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, pp. 709f.

2. See KANE, *o.c.*, p. 127 and H. R. DIWEKAR, *Les fleurs de rhétorique dans l'Inde*. Diss. Paris, 1930, pp. 23ff., who, treating the same subject as KANE, does not mention his paper.

3. See my essay *Stilistische Studie over Atharvaveda* I-VII, Wageningen 1938, p. 8 ff.

thing else, or no more than that? Nowhere have I found an answer in the negative. On the contrary,[1] DIWEKAR, who, only eight years ago, treated the subject in detail, says explicitly : "nous avons vu que les poètes védiques ornaient leurs hymnes..."[2] But in my opinion, we are wrong when we say that the vedic alaṃkāra is nothing but an ornament.[3] In an essay about the language of Atharvavedasaṃhitā I-VII[4] I have tried to describe a number of stylistic phenomena of the atharvanic mantras. I have proved that in these texts which for the greater part had a more "popular" origin than the main body of the Ṛgveda and did not flourish in the atmosphere of the court, where the precursors of the kāvya-poets of the classical time cultivated their art—also many cases of alliteration, rhyme, anaphoric repetition, paronomastic juxtaposition of similar forms and so on occur. To my mind the said phenomena had in all probability another function in AV. and such like mantras than to be nothing but ornaments. Here, as in the literature of several other peoples, we have a sacral or ritual "Sondersprache", which in some regards is different from the colloquial speech in general. Its characteristics are usually a certain archaism, stereotypy in the construction of the sentence (parallelism etc.), a certain circumstantiality, the employment of repetitions and "figures of speech" which consist in repetition of various kinds, the employment and exploitation of linguistic phenomena which occur in the colloquial language of many a people. So in a "Sondersprache" like this many peculiarities are to be met with which do not play a logically —intellectual part, but express feelings, moods, desires and so on. At the same time we ought not to forget that in magic religious texts the sound, in itself, has often great significance. Harmony in sound, similarity or partial similarity in name points to essential harmony or likeness. The pronouncing of a word, especially in certain formulas has a magic power, the repeated pronouncing of it intensifies this magic power. Partially similar words, e.g. words with the same ending, said in a certain rhythm, elevate the general mood. They have a hallowing effect. Often the peculiar virtue of "verba concepta" and "carmina", of solemn speech is recognized by the general public. These peculiarities of the sacral language may also have an æsthetic side, which will probably have been observed and cultivated by individual poets a.o. by Ṛgvedic poets. Then they become figures of speech and when applied in excess they become "Spielerei".

Reminding my readers of the fact that of the alaṃkāras the *upamā, rūpaka, dīpaka* and *yamaka* are mentioned first in literature (see f.i. Bhār.

1. Compare also JACOBI, who was a great authority in this domain (*ZDMG.* 56, p. 392) : "Die indische Poetik ist, wenn man aus ihrem Namen A. auf ihr ursprüngliches Wesen schliessen darf, erwachsen aus eine Lehre von dem poetischen Schmuck"; GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* III, 32 f. ; 99, n. 5.

2. See also my *Stilistische Studie*.. . .,p. 10 ; ff.

3. The French word *ornement* is explained by LITTRÉ, *Dict. française*, s. v. "...... terme de littérature : figures, forme de style qui servent à embellir le discours".

4. See the preceding note but one.

N. S. 17, 40 : *upamā rūpakam caiva dīpakaṁ yamakaṃ tathā | alaṃkārās tu vijñeyāś catvāro nāṭakāśrayāḥ*), I should like to suggest the following hypothesis : when pointing to material things *alaṃkāra-* meant things which make *alam*, which give the strength required for something > things which bestow a consecrated condition upon a person, amulets, > "ornaments". Now, as the above mentioned characteristics of the Sondersprache of the Vedic mantras made it what it was made it fit to answer its purpose, because without the typical "figures of speech"—in the manner in which, and with the frequency with which they occur—the prayers and formulas would have no success[1], would not be "texts" and prayers—these peculiarities of style of the language may have been given the same names as their material counterparts, when the language of the holy texts began to be considered and studied, which was at a very early date. We ought not to forget that the definitions containing the idea "beauty" arise only centuries later and bear on art-poetry. In my opinion the word *saṃskāra-* is something to go by,—we have already pointed out that *saṃ-skr-* and *alaṃ-kr-* to an important degree run parallel in semantic. If *saṃskāra-* a.o. is grammatically the correct form of language which is exclusively effective, *alaṃkāra-* (for the mantra's) may indicate the correct form of style[2].

One might object that similes and metaphors also (*upamās* and *rūpakās*, together with *dīpakās*) belong to the *alaṃkārās* already mentioned. In a treatise which, as I hope will be published about simultaneously with this article, I propose to explain that this fact tells not against, but indeed strongly in favour of the hypothesis stated above.

If this hypothesis is correct[4]—when the name *a.* was used for the first time, I am unable to say myself—,one might perhaps wonder at the fact that the Indian "Begriffbestimmung of practical figures" "so wenig befriedigend ausfiel"[3] and that later theorists have not suggested this explanation. A look at the history of the study of analogous phenomena in Europe may make us think better of it, if this wonder should at the same be a reproach.

At first sight, it seems that other objections can be raised against my theory, viz. in various texts and commentaries synonyms are met with or verbs are used in the same context which are accredited with the meaning "to adorn etc." We can, however, make plausible that other verbs also did not possess that meaning, or only that meaning, from the beginning. Although want of space prevents me from explaining this in full detail, I call to memory the following facts :

Several times, Sāyaṇa paraphrases *prasādhayan* : (*svatejasā*) *alaṃkurvan*

1. Would be *anarthakāh*, DIWEKAR, p. 25.
2. Already at a very early date the *vācah krūrāṇi* were distinguished, which had a destructive effect (f. i. Āp. Śr. S. 14, 14, 1). See HILLEBRANDT, *Rituall*, p. 170.
3. JACOBI, *o.c.*, p. 2.
4. Of course it is possible that at an early date the aesthetical shade of meaning of the word was present too.

(ad ṚV. 1, 95, 7); *prasādhayantī* (*svatejasā*) *svātmānam alaṃkurvatī prasiddhiṃ prāpnuvānā vā* (ad ṚV. 1, 172, 2), cp. (ad ṚV. 1, 37, 3[1]) *prasādhayati* means "to accomplish" : AV. 1, 24, 4, "to arrange, put in order" etc.[2], at times specialized, but also "to adorn" ; see the play on the word Raghuvaṃśa 19, 3 ; Veṇīsaṃhāra 1, 7.

Lexicographers and other authors[3] have : *bhūṣaṇe 'lam.* I intend to write a short paper about the family of *bhūṣ-*, *bhūṣaṇa-*, wherein I hope to demonstrate that the semantical history of the word *bhūṣaṇa-* is partly parallel.

DIWEKAR[4] sets a high value on the use of the word *śumbhati* in parallel contexts. Now, the family of *śubh-* too has other meanings than "to embellish." Cp., e.g. Manu 8, 297 *mṛgapakṣiṇaḥ śubhāḥ,* not " beautiful wild quadrupeds and birds "[5], but, as often in texts on augury "auspicious, faustus".[6] Manu 2, 112 *śubhaṃ bījam,* "von guter Beschaffenheit", Pet. Wtb., where many instances ; a *śubhaḥ silpin* is "a clever artisan" (Rām). In ṚV. 1, 33, 8 there is an interesting place : *híraṇyena maṇínā śúmbhamānāḥ...* "With golden chains, trinkets or the like that have a magic power"; 1, 85, 3 *gómātaro yác chubháyante añjíbhis tanū́ṣu śubhrā́ dadhire virúkmataḥ bā́dhante víśvam abhimātínam,* the magical and religious use of *añj-*, *añji-* is well-known[4], in c the result is clearly seen ; the Maruts oppress every foe ; therefore, to my mind, they put on, not things which only add beauty to them, but things that have a magical power ; 9, 62, 6 *ā́d īm áśvaṃ ná hétāró 'śūśubhann amṛ́tāya mádhvó rásaṃ sadhamā́de* "just as drivers harness the horse (that it may be ready for its task), they prepared the sap *madhu-* ...".[8] In AV. 6, 54, 1 (to secure and increase some one's superiority) the magical meaning of the verb is obvious : "with amulets etc. I put this man in the condition that he is superior ..." ;[9] AV. 6, 115, 3 ; 12, 3, 13 the meaning is "to cleanse" ; ṚV. 5, 54, 11 we meet with an enumeration : spears on the shoulders, rings on the feet, golden plates on the breasts, *śubhaḥ* on the chariot, lightnings in the arms, helmets on the heads : practical things, outfit, weapons with material power and amulets with magical power, but, of course, these things might be glittering and beautiful too.[10] Now the passages, quoted by DIWEKAR in favour of his theory that *alaṃkaroti* always means "to adorn, to add beauty to".[11] We are not under the necessity of translating ṚV. 5, 22, 4 *gīrbhíḥ*

1. Cp. also GELDNER, *Vedische Studien,* III, 29.
2. See the dictionaries.
3. For instance Amarak. 3, 4, 32, 13 ; Pāṇini 1, 4, 64.
4. *O. c.*, p. 2.
5. MAX MÜLLER, S.B.E. 25, p. 306.
6. See Kullūka, and, e.g. Mahābh. 5, 143, 17.
7. See, f.e., ERE, s.v. Anoint.
8. Cp. GRASSMANN, *Worterbuch,* 1405 "zurichten".
9. Cp. WHITNEY-LANMAN, *Atharva-veda,* p. 321.
10. Moreover, we must consider that "beautiful" and "brilliant, bright, glittering" are not the same.
11. DIWEKAR, o.c., pp. 2 ff.

śumbhanty átrayaḥ and ṚV. 8, 44, 26 *agním śumbhāmi mánmabhiḥ* with "Les Atris (te) parent de leurs chants" and "Je pare Agni de prières". As we have seen, the chant invigorates (or rejoices) the god : thus we might translate : "I favour Agni with ..." or something like this." Here too we meet with the idea "to render a person or a thing fit for his (its) task".[1] In the same way : ṚV. 9, 2, 7 *yā́bhir (gī́rbhir) mádāya śúmbhase* "to be in the right condition to", cp. Pet. Wtb. VII, 260; and ṚV. 8, 6, 11, where we must quote the whole stanza : *ahám pratnéna mánmanā gíraḥ śumbhāmi kaṇvavát yénéndraḥ śúṣmam íd dadhé;* here too I should like to render *śumbhāmi* with : "I make a thing in an appropriate manner etc." ṚV.. 1, 130, 6[2] *śumbhánto ... yathā ... vājínam átyam iva śávase sātáye dhánā,* we must render : "harnessing (a horse), make ready etc.," mere ornaments do not suffice to win the race and the prize!

Now, it is noteworthy that the family of words to which Engl. *ornament, adorn,* fr. *orner* belong, which are often used to translate *alaṃkāra-* etc. once had a different meaning, which agreed with the more original meaning of *alaṃkṛ-*. In Latin the verb *ornare* signified : firstly "to fit out, to prepare, to equip, to supply with everything needed etc.," e.g. *classem o.* "to fit out a fleet", *aliquem armis o.* "to equip a person with weapons" (*miles ornatus ferro*) etc. ; secondly "to adorn, to make beautiful", also said of the orator who adorns his speech (Cicero) ; *ornatus* means I "well-equipped" ; *equus o.* "a bridled horse", *ornatus armatusque* "fitted out and armed" ; II "beautiful, elegant, fine, often of speeches" ; *ornatus,* subst. means I the equipment; II the attire or costume worn by a person (germ. Ausstattung) ; III germ. schmückende Ausstattung, adornment. In modern French, as well as in the other Romance languages, we only find the changed meaning : Fr. *orner,* It. *ornare,* Port. *ornar* signify "embellish, adorn".

This is not the only case of such a semantic change. The Latin verb *parare* signified "to prepare, to procure, to make ready, to equip" (*epulas,* "banquet", etc.), *paratus* "ready, prepared". In connection with some words *parare* could be understood as "to adorn" ; *auro paratus* ("... with gold"). In the 10th century French *parer* signified "to adorn", *parement* was "Ausschmückung, Schmuck"[3], in modern French *parer* means I "apprêter certaines choses de manière à leur donner meilleure appaience, à les rendre plus commods ...., terme de marine) mettre en ordre une chose ...." II (usually) "orner, embellir."[4]

Although the original meaning of German *Schmuck* was another ("das, was sich dem Leibe anschmiegt"), in the 15th century (in Luther's works) it was used for the whole dress "mit dem Nebenbegriff des schönen, kostbaren, verzierten", then it assumed the meaning : "was zur Verschönerung con etwas

1. Cp. a *bhiṣaj- śóbhana-* Ath. V. Pr. *JAOS.* VII, p. 536.
2. DIWEKAR, p. 5 (§ 9).
3. Cp. also GAMILLSCHEG, *Etymol. Worterbuch der franzosischen Sparche,* p. 670.
4. Cp. LITTRÉ, *Dict. de la langue francaise,* s.v.

dient" ; also of speech "Schmuck der Sprache, der Rede, von zierlichen oder bildlichen Ausdrücken..."[1] The semantic development of Greek *kosmos* and its derivatives also seems to have another starting-point, and these words denote also other and different notions; yet we may call to memory that here also the following meanings are found together : "arrange, prepare" (meal, wreath), "equip, dress" (also of horses), "adorn, embellish" (also of speech).[2]

And, in fact, it is very difficult to say, "where clothing ends and ornament begins," or "where clothing springs out of ornament"[3] ; a great many ornaments traced and trace their origin back to practical and serviceable things, such as clothes etc., or such as amulets.[4] And this development is reflected in many languages.

The English word *charm* (from lat. *carmen*) at first signified "a magical formula, recited to bring about some beneficial result, to cast about a spell etc." then "any action, process, word, material thing credited with such properties", "talisman", "amulet"; in the end "a thing that gives great pleasure", esp. "a small ornament or trinket ...."

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1. Cp. GRIMM, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v.
2. Here too we find "equipped with gold" > "adorned...." (Hom. h.Ven. 65), and the meaning "adornments buried with the dead."
3. Cp., for instance, HASTING'S *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, 5, 41b.
4. See *Acta Orientalia* 15, 319 ; also *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 7, 1255. We must not forget that amulets often were sewn in clothing, affixed to weapons, attached to ornaments.

THE KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA AS A HISTORICAL PLAY

By

JAGAN NATH, Lahore.

The *Kaumudīmahotsava,* a drama in five acts was discovered by Mr. KAVI and published by him, from a single manuscript in 1929. The plot of the play in brief is that king Sundaravarman of Pāṭaliputra had an adopted son named Caṇḍasena who later on became hostile and with the assistance of the Licchavis, attacked Pāṭaliputra. In the battle that followed, Sundaravarman was killed, his queens committed suicide and his infant son, Kalyāṇavarman fled to the forests, and lived there under care of Mantragupta the faithful minister of Sundaravarman. Caṇḍasena became the ruler of Magadha. Mantragupta however was striving to restore the son of his late master to the throne. He plotted with the neighbouring tribes the Śabaras and Pulindas, and instigated them to rebel. While Caṇḍasena had gone out to put down the rebellion, Mantragupta caused a rising of the people at Pāṭaliputra, Caṇḍasena's power was overthrown, his dynasty uprooted and Kalyāṇavarman was proclaimed king. The play then ends happily with the marriage of Kalyāṇvarman with Kīrtimatī, the daughter of Kīrtisena, king of Mathurā.

The plot is evidently woven round some political incident known to the author, but whether that political episode can be regarded as a true historical narrative, referrable to a definite period in ancient Indian history, is a different matter. The late Dr. JAYASWAL however regarded the incidents described in the *Kaumudīmahotsava* as historical facts relating the circumstances under which Candragupta I of the Gupta family got possession of Magadha. In his opinion Caṇḍasena of the play is to be identified with Candragupta I, Candra becoming Caṇḍa in Prākrit. In his opinion this identification was confirmed by the fact that both the inscriptions and the play refer to the Licchavi alliance of Candragupta I.[1] Mr. Edward PIRES has gone a step further and concluded that the predecessors of the Guptas in Magadha namely the Kings Sundaravarman and Kalyāṇavarman mentioned in the play belonged to the Maukhari dynasty.[2] However Professor Dr. WINTERNITZ was neither inclined to accept the identification of Caṇḍasena of the play with Candragupta, the first imperial monarch of the Gupta dynasty, nor prepared to assign any definite historical value to the statements of the play beyond having some historical background.[3] This view of Professor WINTERNITZ has been criticised by Professor Dasharatha SHARMA, who upholds the identification of Caṇḍasena with Candragupta I and regards the incidents of the play as

1. For Dr. JAYASWAL'S views see, *ABORI*. Vol. XII. pp. 50-56; and *JBORS*. Vol. XIX p. 113 f.

2. E.A. PIRES, *The Moukharis* p. 17 ff and pp. 23-41.

3. 'Historical Dramas in Indian Literature, Krishanswami Aiyanger commemoration Vol. pp. 359-62.

true historical facts.[1] He has put forward an additional argument for supporting the identity of Caṇḍasena and Candragupta I. He says, "the Sanskrit name Candra seems to be alluded to in the verse वहमणो रेवई मुहमधु... सोहई चंदब्ब बलभद्दो। But is चंदब्ब Sanskrit? How is this reference any more convincing than the instances quoted by Dr. JAYASWAL where Candra has become Caṇḍa[2]? As a matter of fact it is not so important to prove that Caṇḍasena is the Prakritised form of Candragupta's name, as to show that Caṇḍasena of the play is the first imperial Gupta ruler. Professor SHARMA believes that the mention in the play of Caṇḍasena's alliance with the Licchavis being in substantial agreement with the epigraphic evidence, there is no room for entertaining any doubts regarding his identity with Candragupta I whose wife Kumāradevī was a Licchavi princess. He remarks, "If inscriptional or literary evidence were to conflict with the statements of the drama we should have every reason to doubt the truth of the latter. But curiously enough it does not."[3]

A careful study of the play will however reveal that several statements made therein are in conflict with the historical information ascertained from the Gupta inscriptions. Merely on account of one similarity we should not jump to conclusions which are otherwise precluded by weighty considerations.

In the fifth act of the play we are informed through a character—Lokākṣi—that Kalyāṇavarman has been anointed king; the cursed Caṇḍasena has been killed and his royal family uprooted.

"दिष्ट्येदानीं प्रतिलब्धराज्याभिषेको देवः कल्याणवर्मा। दिष्ट्या वत्सानुबन्धो निहतश्चण्डसेनहतकः। कुतः,

प्रकटितवर्णाश्रमपथमुन्मूलितचण्डसेनराजकुलम्।
कल्पन (?) मिव नमति जनः (सकलः) कल्याणवर्माणम्॥"[4]

In other words the revolution engineered by Mantragupta resulted in the death of Candragupta I and the total annihilation of his dynasty. But, evidently this is directly opposed to the known facts of early Gupta history as ascertained from the inscriptions. It is very well known that the dynasty of Candra-

1. 'Professor Winternitz on the Kaumudīmahotsava' *JBORS*, 1936 pp. 276-82.
2. *JBORS*. Vol. XIX p. 113.
3. *JBORS*, 1936 p. 278.
4. *Kaumudīmahotsava* p. 36. It should be noted that the compound वत्सानुबन्ध does not give any appropriate sense in the present context. If dissolved as a Tatpuruṣa like हृदयानुबन्धः or शोकानुबन्धः—अनुबन्ध meaning affection in the first case and continuity in the second, it can give no meaning. If dissolved as a Bahuvrīhi वत्से अनुबन्धः यस्य it would be equally insignificant, for how can it be a distinguishing trait of Caṇḍasena's character only. Everybody loves one's child. From the context it is clear that the speaker wants to emphasise that the victory of Kalyāṇavarman was most complete and nothing had been left to be desired. Evidently वत्सानुबन्धः in the present context is a corrupt reading and I propose to emend the text as दिष्ट्या [ता]वत्सानुबन्धः निहतः चण्डसेनहतकः।
'Luckily, the cursed Caṇḍasena has been killed, together with his descendants.' Thus according to the play Caṇḍesena had been killed and his family annihilated,

gupta, far from becoming extinct with him, ruled for several generations, after him. Not only he was neither defeated nor dethroned, but he lived up to an old age and nominated his son as successor to the throne, as is clear from the following verse in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.

[आ]र्यो हीत्युपगुह्य भावपिशुनैरुत्कर्ण्णितै रोमभिः
सभ्येषूच्छ्वसितेषु तुल्यकुलजम्लानाननोद्वीक्षितः ।
स्नेहव्याकुलितेन बाष्पगुरुणा तत्त्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा
यः पित्राभिहितो निरीक्ष्य निखि[लां पाह्येव]मुर्व्वीमिति ॥

" Whom, the father, having embraced, with the words, " thou art indeed worthy," with (his) hair standing erect, (and) betokening his feeling, (then) having looked at (him) with the eye that could discern merit and was bedimmed with tears and tremulous with affection, while the courtiers, cheered up, and the collaterals looked with melancholy faces, addressed thus, " Do thou protect, thus the entire earth."

Dr. JAYASWAL has however interpreted this verse in an entirely different spirit. According to him it shows that " Candragupta I who was dying either of wounds or of a broken heart on his expulsion from Pāṭaliputra, addressed Samudragupta, one of his younger sons, with tears in his eyes and with the tacit consent and approval of his Council of Ministers,—' you now, my noble son, be the king.' (" protect the kingdom ") and expired."[1]

Even if we admit for the sake of argument, that Candragupta escaped from the battlefield with fatal wounds, what a monarch in his position could have bequeathed to his son would not have been an empire of the whole earth, but the onerous task of avenging the defeat of his father and retrieving the family disaster. In these circumstances, Samudragupta's lot was most unenviable, and there was certainly no cause for the other princes to become melancholy. When the royal fortune had still to be achieved, there could not have been any grounds for mutual jealousies. Hence it is clear that Dr. JAYASWAL'S interpretation is in conflict with the import of the whole passage, from the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, quoted above. The words पाह्येवमुर्व्वीम् clearly and unmistakably suggest that the empire built by Candragupta I was in tact, and that Candragupta had voluntarily relinquished control of the state affairs in his old age, and had nominated Samudragupta as his successor, in accordance with the general practice that prevailed in ancient India and to which Kālidāsa has referred again and again,—that in their old age the kings retired to the solitude of the forest hermitages, entrusting the burden of administration to their grown up sons. The following two quotations, will make the point quite clear :—

अथ स विषयव्यावृत्तात्मा यथाविधि सूनवे
नृपतिककुदं दत्वा यूने सितातपवारणम् ॥
मुनिवनतरुच्छायां देव्या तया सह शिश्रिये
गलितवयसामिक्ष्वाकूणामिदं हि कुलव्रतम् ॥ " *Raghuvaṃśa.* III. 70.

1. *JBORS.* Vol. XIX. p. 119,

'And so he, with his mind having become averse to worldly pleasures, having duly made over to his youthful son, the white umbrella—that symbol of royalty, retired with his queen to the shade of the trees in the forest, occupied by hermits, for this, is the family tradition (lit. vow) of the Ikṣvākus, in the decline of their life.'

Further भूत्वा चिराय चतुरन्तमहीसपत्नी
दौष्यन्तिमप्रतिरथं तनयं निवेश्य ।
भर्त्रा तदर्पितकुटुम्बभरेण सार्धं
शान्ते करिष्यसि पदं पुनराश्रमेऽस्मिन् ॥ *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, IV. 20.

"Having remained for long, the co-wife of the earth extending to the four quarters and having installed the son of Duṣyanta a matchless warrior (on the throne) you will again set your foot in this quiet hermitage in company with your husband who shall have made over the family burden to him."[1]

In the light of the statements of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, it is now clear beyond doubt that Candragupta lived up to an old age and passed on the Empire to his son, and that he had other sons also, besides Samudragupta. Hence he cannot be identified with the Caṇḍasena of the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, about whom it is stated that he was killed (निहत:) and his dynasty annihilated. (उन्मूलितराजकुल)

In the first act of the play we are informed by the Vidūṣaka, "मगधप्रत्यन्तवासिनां शबरपुलिन्दानां कुञ्जरकेण पुरुषः प्रेषितः" that, 'a spy has been sent by Kuñjaraka to the Śabaras and Pulindas, residing on the frontiers of Magadha.' As they had become hostile to Caṇḍasena, they must have been punished by him or by his son. Even if Caṇḍasena had succeeded in subduing them, they must have regained their independence after Caṇḍasena had been defeated by Kalyāṇavarman. Hence it is evident, that there must have been a clash again between these frontier tribes and Samudragupta, if we believe that this historical monarch was the son of Caṇḍasena of the play. But there is no mention at all, of these tribes in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Considering that even the smallest tribal states like the Kākas, Kharaparikas, Prārjunas etc. are mentioned, it is most unlikely that the omission of the Śabaras, and Pulindas, the next door neighbours is due to an oversight. The only reasonable inference can be that there were no such tribes at all in the neighbourhood of Magadha, in the Gupta period. They are not mentioned in a single inscription from C. 320 A.D. to C. 600 A.D. Thus once again the statement of the play is in conflict with the authentic evidence of the inscriptions, and has to be rejected.

Again, the two important personalities of the play, Kalyāṇavarman and his father-in-law Kīrtisena, are also unknown to the writer of the Allahabad Pillar inscription. This omission is not very easy to account for inasmuch as we know that the prominent adversaries of Samudragupta in northern India as many as eight have been mentioned and certainly the ruler of Magadha

1. These instances can be further multiplied. e.g. *Raghuvaṃśa* I. 8; VII. 71. *Vikramorvaśī*. V. 17.

2. *Kaumudīmahotsava*. P. 10.

and his powerful ally of Mathurā were too important to be overlooked. With regard to Kīrtisena Dr. JAYASWAL has said that " he was probably an old man at the time of the marriage and accession of Kalyāṇavarman and that he might have soon passed away."[1] About the omission of Kalyāṇavarman he has given no explanation, which is offered however by Mr. E. A. PIRES. He says, " It does not seem probable that the Licchavis could have allowed Kalyāṇavarman to remain long in possession of the Magadhan throne. They had to look after the interest of their *dauhitra* and ward, Samudragupta ; and very probably, even before the Gupta army could return from the frontier provinces, Kalyāṇavarman was defeated and either killed or forced to beat a speedy retreat from Pāṭaliputra. Such a hypothesis immediately explains why Kalyāṇavarman's name does not figure in the Allahabad Pillar in the list of the rulers subdued by Samudragupta."[2] But it is not at all convincing that Kalyāṇavarman, never came in direct conflict with Samudragupta. A clash between Samudragupta and an opponent in the very city of Pāṭaliputra, is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription. Hence if Kalyāṇavarman, as is supposed, was the pre-Gupta ruler of Pāṭaliputra, it must have been he who fought that battle against Samudragupta in the city of Pāṭaliputra. We know from the Allahabad Pillar inscription that this opponent belonged to the Kota family. But the family of Kalyāṇavarman has never been called by that name. It is given in the play a vague designation-*Magadhakula*. Hence it appears that Kalyāṇavarman is not a historical personality, or at least he was not a contemporary of Samudragupta. It seems Mr. PIRES was himself conscious of the weakness of his explanation and has suggested two more alternatives. He says, " It is sometimes believed that a civil war followed the nomination of Samudragupta to the throne of Pāṭaliputra. This assumption of a civil war on the death of Candragupta would explain why Kalyāṇavarman's name does not figure in the conquests of Samudragupta, for he might have been ousted from Pātaliputra by one of Samudragupta's brothers who took possession of the city."[3] The civil war between Samudragupta and his brother is a supposition and is fatal to the very theory to support which it is put forward. For, as shown above if Candragupta had lost Magadha, there was certainly no *causus belli* for the princes. Even, admitting for the sake of argument, that there was a civil war, there appears to be no chance for a brother of Samudragupta to capture Pāṭaliputra, because his resources must have been extremely limited. Samudragupta was very popular with the courtiers, the council of Ministers and other officers at the headquarters and had their enthusiastic support, The words सभ्येषूच्छ्वसितेषु (while the courtiers cheered up) of the Allahabad Pillar inscription bear strong testimony to Samudragupta's popularity in court circles. In the circumstances a hostile brother, could not have had ample resources, to attack Pātaliputra, and dethrone Kalyāṇavarman. Mr. PIRES, has made a third suggestion also. " If it is

1. *ABORI*, Vol. XII. pp. 54-55.
2. E. A. PIRES, *The Maukharis*, pp. 38-39.
3. PIRES, *The Maukharis*, p. 39.

true that Kalyāṇavarman was actually defeated by Samudragupta in person, the victory must have been recorded in line 13 of the Allahabad Pillar in those ten unintelligible syllables that follow the names of Acyuta and Nāgasena."[1] But even if the thirteenth line is damaged, we are barred by other considerations, to take advantage of this doubtful circumstance to put Kalyāṇavarman's name in that line. The names of Acyuta and Nāgasena, mentioned in the thirteenth line, are repeated in the twentieth line, in the list of rulers of Āryāvarta uprooted by Samudragupta. It means that, no important ruler, defeated and overthrown by Samudragupta, has been left out. Therefore we have to infer that there did not exist any ruler named Kalyāṇavarman at this time.

Further, according to the play, at the time of the rise of the Guptas, the ruler of Mathurā, Kīrtisena, belonged to the Yādava dynasty of Kṣatriyas. This is clear from the following statements :—

1. साभिसरामेनामितः प्रेषितवान् यदुनाथः । p. 8.
2. यदुनाथः स्वां दुहितरं कीर्तिमतीमस्मत्स्वामिने देवाय कल्याणवर्मणे प्रतिपादयितुं व्यवसितः । p. 28.
3. ततो मंत्रिभिस्सह सम्भूय दैवनिर्मितमेतदिति कृतबुद्धिरासीद्यदुनाथः । p. 39.
4. मया मायेव सम्प्राप्ता सा यदा यादवी सुता । p. 43.

But we know from inscriptions, that before the Guptas, Mathurā was in the possession of the Kuṣanas. It is possible that the Kuṣanas lost it to the Nāgas. In any case, the ruling dynasty at Mathurā was either Kuṣana or Nāga and not Yādava. We cannot expect a contemporary writer, such as the author of the Kaumudīmahotsava is supposed to be, to be so inaccurate or at least so vague in his statements as to confuse Nāgas or Kuṣaṇas with Yādavas. Can it be argued that the author of the play has called Kīrtisena, a Yādava because in the past the *Yādavakula* was associated with Mathurā ? Is this a sufficient justification for the author to call Kīrtisena a Yādava ? This will be a bold begging of the question. Evidently we cannot attach any historical value to the statements of an author, who is so vague and inaccurate. Hence the conclusion is forced on us, that Kīrtisena of the play, is a purely imaginary character and not a historical personality.

It is thus clearly established that the statements of the play are at many places, in conflict with the authentic epigraphic evidence and therefore cannot be accepted as true historical facts. As regards the Licchavi alliance, such a statement can be expected from any ancient Indian writer. It is laid down in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, that any king desirous of strengthening his position must win over by alliance or strategy—the powerful tribes like the Licchavis. Hence, in connection with a character like Caṇḍasena, who wanted to establish his power the mention of the Licchavi alliance is purely conventional and has no historical significance. It must therefore be concluded that the episode of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* has no bearing whatsoever on the early Gupta history.

1. PIRES, *The Maukharis*, p. 39.

MAGNETISM AS EXPLAINED BY ŚĀNTARAKṢITA A BUDDHIST WRITER OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY

By

GANGANATH JHA—Allahabad

Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattvasaṁgraha* (Text no. 2520) explains that magnetic attraction of Iron is due to the contact of the invisible light rays (*Prabhā* is the word used) emanating from the Magnet and permeating the Iron.

It is interesting to find here some sort of anticipation of the comparatively modern theory that Magnetic and Electric Phenomena are closely related,—if not identical.

ON SOME DIFFICULTIES OF THE KAṬHA UPANIṢAD

By

E. H. JOHNSTON, Oxford.

Of recent years many scholars have turned their attention to the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad,* and three of them have embodied their conclusions in new translations, the late Prof. CHARPENTIER in *Ind. Ant.,* 1928, pp. 201-7 and 221-8, and 1929, pp. 1-5, from the standpoint of the general Sanskrit scholar, Mr. J. N. RAWSON (*The Kaṭha Upaniṣad,* Oxford, 1934), whose invaluable study discusses in detail the views of the various commentators and of his modern predecessors and brings out the religious significance of the work, and most recently the late Prof. Rudolf OTTO (*Die Kaṭha-Upaniṣad,* Berlin, 1936), who has not only given us the best translation we have but has also made an important contribution to our understanding of the manner in which the text reached its present form. Besides these translations an elaborate series of notes from the hand of Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY has just appeared in the *New Ind. Ant.,* April-June 1938, but those for April, covering the first *vallī,* have not been available to me for consultation. The present notes are far from ambitious in aim, merely attempting to apply the ordinary principles of textual criticism to certain difficult passages.

In the first place it will be well to discuss OTTO's reconstruction of the Upaniṣad. Its kernel he finds in the first three *vallīs,* after rejecting certain interpolations ; he would constitute it thus, i. 1-15, 18-29, ii. 1-10*b* (original 10*cd* lost), 12-14, 18, 20, 23-24, and iii. 3-9, 14-15. In the first *vallī* verses 16-18 have been doubted by several scholars, but OTTO would retain the last of them, taking the *traya* of *a* to be a reference to the three kinds of instruction about the bricks mentioned in 15*b* ; this seems to me sound. In the second *vallī* he sees a direct contradiction in terms between the statements of the first hemistich of verse 10 and those of the second, and suggests that the latter has been substituted for a hemistich which was to the effect that true salvation is to be gained not by Vedic ceremonial but through the recognition of the divine in ourselves. A solution of this type does not seem to me *a priori* at all probable, but the verse undoubtedly remains a crux, which has not yet been explained satisfactorily, and possibly the text is corrupt, though it is difficult to suggest any conjecture which has a reasonable degree of cogency[1]. Verse 11, fully discussed below, is rejected by OTTO, partly on stylistic grounds, but the reasons given do not impress me as adequate. The remaining verses, which he omits in this *vallī,* look like glosses[2], and the change of metre to which he calls attention is significant.

1. See p. 126 n. 1 for my explanation, retaining the present text.
2. COOMARASWAMY defends the genuineness of ii. 25, but fails to convince me, except on the point that I agree with him in not thinking it agnostic.

In the next *vallī* the first two verses certainly seem out of place, and the second, with its mention of *akṣara brahman*, stands or falls by the decision on ii. 16.[1]. The omission of verses 10-13 makes the teaching of this *adhyāya* more coherent by reducing it to a simple *ātman* theory, and lessens some of the difficulties I felt in discussing the relation of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* to the development of the Sāṁkhya system in my essay on *Early Sāṁkhya*. In the main then Professor OTTO made out a good case for his reconstruction of the original text. The second *adhyāya* consisted originally in his opinion of a hymn made up of verses iv. 1-2 and all the verses ending with the refrain *etad vai tat*; I agree that these verses, taken by themselves, read as a consecutive whole and make the remainder look like glosses, but doubt whether, in view of the obviously composite character of this part of the Upaniṣad, it is necessary to form a definite opinion on the point.

I now turn to a discussion of a few passages, quoting the text in each case for the convenience of readers.

i. 3. *Pītodakā jagdhatṛṇā dugdhadohā nirindriyāḥ* |
Anandā nāma te lokās tān sa gacchati tā dadat ||

Discussion of this verse has usually centred on the significance of the first line and in particular on the meaning of *nirindriyāḥ*; and sight has thus been lost of the really important matter, the pregnancy of the word *anandā*. In the first place I would observe that, if the principal Upaniṣads are grouped not according to their presumptive age but according to the doctrines taught in them, it will be found that there is a marked tendency for the Upaniṣads attached to any one Veda to preach a similar system. Thus the two Rigveda Upaniṣads, the *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki*, have as their central point the theory of *prajñā* and the *prajñātman*. The only two authentic Atharvaveda Upaniṣads, the *Muṇḍaka* and *Praśna*, belonging to the Śaunaka and Paippalāda schools, have a scheme peculiar to themselves in which the final truth is said to lie in three principles in ascending order, the *ātman*, the *akṣara brahman* and the *para puruṣa*; the germs of this conception are already present in some of the hymns of the tenth book of the Atharvaveda. For the Yajurveda with its numerous branches the facts are not quite so clear, but one strand of thought may be picked out as apposite in the present connection. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* describes as the highest stage the state of *ānanda*, and its second *vallī* is known as the *brahmānanda-vallī*. Elsewhere in the Upaniṣads the word is hardly used at all in this technical sense, except perhaps in *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, iii. 9, 28, *vijñānam ānandaṁ brahma*, and iv. 3, 32, *eṣo 'sya parama ānandaḥ*, and *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, ii. 2, 7, where *amṛta* is said to be *ānandarūpa*. The later fortune of the term is hardly relevant here. As further the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* is our only other authority for the Naciketas story, it may be inferred that there was a close relationship between the Taittirīya and

1. I do not accept the usual translation of this verse, but have not thought it of sufficient interest for inclusion here.

Kāṭhaka schools. I would suggest therefore that this usage of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* explains the significance of the phrase *anandā nāma te lokāḥ*. The *pāda* is possibly a tag, as it occurs in a different application at *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* iv. 4, 11, but I do not think that that affects my argument, all the more so that *Īśā Upaniṣad,* 3, in using it, substitutes *asūryā* for *anandā*. When Naciketas thinks that the worlds, to which the gift of the cows takes the sacrificer, are *ananda,* he implies not so much that they are joyless, as that they are devoid of *ānanda,* the supreme bliss. The verse foreshadows accordingly the argument of the first *adhyāya* that *svarga,* the reward of carrying out the Vedic ceremonies, is not the final goal, but merely a superior stage from which the supreme bliss is absent. The happiness of heaven, as i. 12 says, consists in freedom from fear, particularly the fear of old age and death, and in release from hunger, thirst and grief. The practice of hinting at subsequent developments in the beginning of a work is common enough in Indian literature, and with my interpretation the verse takes on a deeper meaning.

ii. 2. *Śreyaś ca preyaś ca manuṣyam etas*
tau saṁparītya vivinakti dhīraḥ |
Śreyo hi dhīro 'bhi preyaso vṛṇīte
preyo mando yogakṣemād vṛṇīte ||

The reading of the third line in the accepted text looks dubious, and I should prefer to omit the rendundant syllable *'bhi*. But it is the last line, which has given so much trouble to the translators, because of the failure to determine the meaning of *yogakṣema*. I need not however go into the different explanations put forward beyond observing that all are agreed in taking the constructions of *pādas c* and *d* to be different despite their apparent similarity. This is forced and contrary to the Indian method of building up verses by antithesis. Evidently *dhīraḥ* in *c* is opposed to *mandaḥ* in *d*, and *śreyas* to *preyas*. Therefore on the ordinary principle of interpretation *preyasaḥ* in *c* should be opposed to *yogakṣemāt* in *d*; that is, *yogakṣema* is a synonym of *śreyas,* employed for metrical reasons. The question then arises whether there is any authority for this solution in Indian literature. Exact parallels are not to be found in Brahmanical works with certainty, but the sense of 'well-being', 'prosperity', is well authenticated. In Buddhist literature, however, this sense receives an extension which exactly covers the present case. The Pali Canon regularly uses *yogakkhema* as an epithet of *Nibbāna* (a good selection of references in RHYS DAVIDS-STEDE, *Pali Dictionary*), and the same is the case with *yogakṣema* in Buddhist Sanskrit.

Appeal to Buddhist usage is legitimate for this Upaniṣad, which shows in other passages coincidences with Buddhist phraseology; thus CHARPENTIER had already explained *paricārayasva* in i. 25 by Buddhist parallels, and attention has been drawn several times to iv. 14, 15 (most recently by VON GLASENAPP, *New Ind. Ant.*, I, 138-141). *Pada* in the sense of 'stage' appears at iii. 7, 8, 9, for the first time in the Upaniṣads, but is common enough in

the Pali Canon and in Aśvaghoṣa (typical case at *Saundarananda*, xvi. 27). *Śānti* at i. 17 and v. 13 has a Buddhist ring about it, but probably neither passage belongs to the original Upaniṣad ; and it is tempting to compare the use of *ālambana* in ii. 17, which may also be a later addition, with the technical Buddhist sense of the word for the 'object' of mental activity. These parallels are of some importance for the dating of the Upaniṣad and tend to show that it is not pre-Buddhistic, as is sometimes maintained.

I conclude therefore that the only sound way to interpret this verse is to take *yogakṣema* as equivalent to *śreyas* in the sense of *summum bonum* and to translate *d* on the same lines as *c*, 'The fool prefers the pleasant to the good'. We can now see that a similar use of *yogakṣema* occurs in *Bhagavadgītā*, IX, 22, *Yogakṣemam vahāmy aham*, where the standard translations make the verse sound flat.

ii. 11. *Kāmasyāptiṁ jagataḥ pratiṣṭhāṁ*
kratoг anantyam abhayasya pāram |
Stomamahad urugāyaṁ pratiṣṭhāṁ
dṛṣṭvā dhṛtyā dhīro Naciketo 'tyasrākṣīḥ ||

This verse has been condemned by OTTO as an interpolation on the ground that its exuberant style does not accord with the simple diction of the Upaniṣad generally. However this may be, the verse is a genuine crux, and I cannot offer an absolutely certain solution, but limit myself to indicating the lines on which I would seek it.

The text itself appears open to doubt ; one of the three words, *dṛṣṭvā dhṛtya dhīro*, is superfluous metrically and should be cut out. Further *atyasrākṣīḥ*, as in ii. 3, is unmetrical, breaking the one rule in this metre, which is invariably observed, that of the trochaic cadence. This can be easily put right ; for we know from *Saundarananda*, ii. 20, that the root *sṛj* could in the pre-classical language form an aorist *asṛkṣam*, and the original reading no doubt here and in ii. 3 was *atyasṛkṣaḥ*, to which a later purist took exception, substituting the more correct classical form[1]. In *c* I should also prefer to adopt the variant *stomaṁ mahad*.

The real grammatical construction of the verse was first indicated by SIEG (*Festschrift Garbe*, p. 132), on whom OTTO improved. In each of the first three *pādas* the first half describes a state, and the second defines it. In *a* the attainment of desire is said to be that to which the world is attached ; therefore it refers to existence in this world. In *b* the endlessness of sacrifice is described as the further shore of fearlessness, which is to be understood in view of i. 12, *svarge loke na bhayaṁ kiṁcanāsti*, and of *ananta* in i. 14, as signifying heaven. A literal translation of *c* is impossible, as the exact meaning of *stomamahad* or *stomaṁ mahad* cannot be ascertained, but *urugāya* is a standard epithet of Viṣṇu in the Veda, and we are clearly to see in the line a reference to *Viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padam*, the name given to

1. This form was presumably a new formation, based on a misunderstanding of the Ātmanepada *asṛkṣi*, treated as analogous to *adikṣi* etc.

final salvation in iii. 9. The three lines therefore describe the three stages of existence as known to this Upaniṣad, this world, heaven and final salvation[1]. The question is which verb, *dṛṣṭvā* or *atyasṛkṣaḥ*, governs these accusatives; for it seems to me impossible not to take all three sets of accusatives as dependent on the same verb. It can hardly be *atyasṛkṣaḥ*, as, whatever sense is given to the word, it can apply only to the first two or only to the last, not to all three together. Therefore *dṛṣṭvā* must be retained, and one of the two words, *dhṛtyā* or *dhīro*, should be dropped.

The substantial point then for determination in the verse is the real meaning of *atyasṛkṣaḥ*, whose object is not expressed. OTTO takes it to mean that Naciketas has refused the earthly happiness offered him by Yama. COOMARASWAMY, whose interpretation otherwise differs entirely from that which commends itself to me, points out rightly that *atisṛj* does not mean 'renounce'; if that had been the sense required, the author should have substituted *utsṛj* for it. The verb occurs far more frequently in the earlier literature than COOMARASWAMY realized (see the references in BÖHTLINGK and ROTH's St. Petersburg Dictionary). The ordinary sense, both in the Atharvaveda and in the Sūtra texts, is 'let (a person) go', 'allow to pass on', 'dismiss', whence it sometimes becomes almost equivalent to 'permit' (so the commentator glosses it with *anujñā* at *Āśv. Śrauta Sūtra*, i. 12, 12); as applied to a thing, especially in a rather later period, it comes to signify 'bestow', following the analogy of *tyaj*, which underwent a similar extension of meaning. The usage in *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, i. 4, has no bearing on the general question and need not be discussed here. Of the three occurrences in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, that at i. 22, *mā moparotsīr ati mā sṛjainam* comes within the above definition and we should understand 'do not hold me up but let me pass on'. At ii. 3, *kāmān abhidhyāyan Naciketo 'tyasrākṣīḥ* (read *'tyasṛkṣaḥ*), I would render literally, 'Examining the pleasures, you have let them go'. In practice there may sometimes be little difference between letting a thing go and renouncing it; but it may be observed that renunciation of the world, so familiar to us for instance in Buddhist literature, is not formally inculcated by this Upaniṣad, which looks on worldly pleasure not so much as undesirable from the religious point of view but as merely imperfect happiness owing to its transitoriness. Possibly in consequence of this attitude it holds to the earlier doctrine that the action of the senses in yoga should only be kept under control (*vaśya*, *iii.* 6), not suppressed.[2] The

1. The *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa* does not know these three stages and accordingly gives the same answer to the second and third boons, the preparation of the Nāciketa fire, which does not make good sense; the Upaniṣad gives a more logical sequence to the tale, but I would observe that it takes, so far as I can see, the archaic view that the second stage, heaven, is a permanent state, where *amṛtatva* is enjoyed (i. 13). The explanation of ii. 10 therefore may be that Yama has attained a stage which is permanent, but not *ānanda*, supreme bliss. If this is correct, the present verse follows logically on ii. 10 and is not an interpolation.

2. See my *Early Sāṃkhya*, p. 9, n. 1, where I should have pointed out the concordance of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* in this matter with the earlier Buddhist texts against the view that was later accepted as orthodox in the Yoga school,

sense of ii. 3 to my mind then is, not that Naciketas has renounced the pleasures, but that he has found them inadequate and wishes to pass on to a higher stage of attainment. But to determine how all this applies to the verse under discussion is difficult. Assuming that I am right in seeing a reference in *c* to the *Viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padaṁ*,—and I see no sound alternative,—*atyasṛkṣaḥ* cannot apply to the accusatives in the verse, and its object must be something understood, not expressed. The only suggestion I can make is that it is repetition of the phrase quoted above from i. 22; the object in that case would be *mām* understood. Naciketas has dismissed Yama, that is, following the suggestion made above, p. 126, n. 1, that Yama is in a state that is *nitya* but not *ānanda*, he has himself passed beyond Yama's domain by his insistence on aiming at the supreme stage.

ii. 23. *Nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo*
na medhayā na bahunā śrutena |
Yam evaiṣa vṛṇute tena labhyas
tasyaiṣātmā vivṛṇute tanūṁ svām ||

Everyone without exception translates *vṛṇute* in *c* as 'chooses' in accordance with ordinary classical usage, and I expect no support in finding this difficult. Incidentally in every other case in the principal Upaniṣads, when the root *vṛ* is used in this sense, it is conjugated according to the ninth class, and in my view *vṛṇute* here is opposed to *vivṛṇute* in *d* and cannot be dissociated from it. As the latter unquestionably means 'uncovers', 'reveals', *vṛṇute* ought to mean literally 'covers'. Further is it not extraordinary to say that the *ātman* chooses the person by whom it is obtainable? In a theistic system such a statement, if applied to *īśvara*, would be quite intelligible[1], but this Upaniṣad can only be made out to be theistic in the proper sense of the term by forcible mishandling. The *ātman* is primarily here the essential self, the ultimate reality of the individual; it is most emphatically not something other than the individual, which can reveal or not reveal itself to him as it chooses. The Upaniṣad should be regarded as an expansion of *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, iv. 4, 23, and teaches how by the correct application of yoga the *ātman* may be grasped with the consequence that thereby the highest stage is attained; and this verse takes salvation to be a personal affair which is gained by the individual's own efforts. I submit against the authorities that my view alone accords with the ordinary principles of interpretation and with the teaching of the first *adhyāya* of the Upaniṣad. It may be noted also that Śaṁkara's construction of *c* (*yam*=*svam ātmānam, eṣa* = *sādhakaḥ*) is justly open to drastic criticism as exegetical acrobatics, but I consider that in essentials he hit the correct sense.

1. See, for instance, Rāmānuja's commentary on this verse, quoted by RAWSON, p. 113.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA VERSES AND VERY ANCIENT DHARMASŪTRAS AND OTHER WORKS

By

P. V. KANE, Bombay.

The authenticity of the text of the *Mahābhārata* and the age of its composition are very baffling problems. The critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona will make as near an approach to the original text of the *Mahābhārata* as the manuscript material at present available renders it possible. But the time when the original *Mahābhārata* was composed will probably remain an insoluble puzzle. That the *Mahābhārata* or the original work out of which the present text of the epic grew must have been composed at least before 500 B.C. is indicated by several considerations. In the following paper several verses are set out which occur in the *Mahābhārata* and also in such ancient works as the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and in the ancient Dharmasūtras of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha. Although the age of these and other Dharmasūtras cannot be ascertained with any certainty most scholars are agreed that these at any rate were composed some centuries before the Christian era. In the case of the *Mahābhāṣya* it is conceded by almost all scholars that it was composed about the middle of the second century B.C. Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and Viṣṇu together contain about two hundred verses which are also found in the Manusmṛti. The latter work contains several hundred verses which also occur in the *Mahābhārata*. The latter two matters are not dealt with here, since their examination will require a lengthy treatment. The verses cited below will be arranged in groups and in alphabetical order (in each group).

A. Verses found in the *M.B.* and also in the *M.Bh.**

(1) ऊर्ध्वं प्राणा ह्युत्क्रामन्ति यूनः स्थविर आयति ।
प्रत्युत्थानाभिवादाभ्यां पुनस्तान्प्रतिपद्यते ॥

This occurs in *M. Bh.*, Vol. III, p. 58, in the Anuśāsana 104.64-65 and also in Manu II. 120.

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* Abbreviations :

Āp. Dh. S.	=	Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra.
Baud. Dh. S.	=	Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra (in the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis).
M. B.	=	Mahābhārata (Bombay oblong edition with Nīlakaṇṭha's com.)
M. Bh.	=	Mahābhāṣya (ed. by KIELHORN).
Vas.	=	Vasiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra.
S. B. E.	=	Sacred Books of the East. (ed. by MAX MÜLLER).

(2) कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरते प्रजाः ।

This is found in *M. Bh.*, Vol. II, p. 167 and in Strīparva 2.24.

(3) तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्च एतद् ब्राह्मणकारकम् ।
तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः ।

This is quoted in the *M. Bh.*, Vol. I, p. 411 and Vol. II, p. 363. The first half is Anuśāsana 121.7 (where we read °*yoniścāpyetad brāhmaṇya-kāraṇam*) and the second half is—

त्रिभिर्गुणैः समुदितो ततो भवति वै द्विजः ।

(4) दूरादावसथान्मूत्रं दूरात्पादावसेचनम् ।
दूराच्च भाव्यं दस्युभ्यो दूराच्च कुपिताद्गुरोः ॥

This occurs in *M. Bh.*, Vol. I, p. 457. The first half is found in Manu IV. 151, the second being—

उच्छिष्टान्ननिषेकं च दूरादेव समाचरेत् ।

and in the Anuśāsana 104.82 which reads—

उच्छिष्टोत्सर्जनं चैव दूरे कार्यं हितैषिणा ।

B. Verses found in the *M. B.* and *Āp. Dh. S.*

(5) अभावे भूमिरुदकं तृणानि कल्याणी वागित्येतानि
वै सतोऽगारे न क्षीयन्ते कदाचनेति ।

This is *Āp. Dh. S.*, II. 2.4.14. The words *etāni....kadācana* form one half of an Anuṣṭubh. The first part appears to be a close paraphrase of *tṛṇāni....sūnṛtā*. That this is a quotation in Āpastamba follows from the word *iti* at the end. Manu III.101, Vanaparva 2.54, Udyoga 36.24 have the verse—

तृणानि भूमिरुदकं वाक्चतुर्थी च सूनृता ।
एतान्यपि सतां गेहे नोच्छिद्यन्ते कदाचन ॥

Vanaparva 2.54 and Udyoga 36.24 read *satāmetāni geheṣu no°*. Vas. 13.61 has—

तृणभूम्यग्न्युदकवाक्सूनृतानसूयाः
सतां गृहे नोच्छिद्यन्ते कदाचन ।

It will be seen that Vas. adds *agni* and *anasūyā* to the words of the verse in the Māhābhārata.

(6) यदेकरात्रेण करोति पापं कृष्णं वर्णं ब्राह्मणः सेवमानः ।
चतुर्थकाल उदकाभ्यवायी त्रिभिर्वर्षैस्तदपहन्ति पापम् ॥

This is *Āp. Dh. S.* I.9.27.11 and *Baud. Dh. S.* II.1.59. This is Śānti 165.29 (*niṣkṛṣṭavarṇam* and *sthānāsanābhyām viharan vratī sa tribhir varṣaiḥ śamayedātmapāpam*). Manu xi.178 (which is same as Viṣṇu Dharma-sūtra 53.9 and Parāśara VII.8-9) is a concise paraphrase of the same.

(7) राज्ञः पन्था ब्राह्मणेनासमेत्य समेत्य तु ब्राह्मणस्यैव पन्थाः ।

This half verse is *Āp. Dh. S.* II.5.11.5-6 and is Vanaparva 133.1. Manu II.139 is only a concise statement of the same.

(8) रेतोधाः पुत्रं नयति परेत्य यमसादने ।
तस्माद् भार्यां रक्षन्ति बिभ्यन्तः पररेतसः ॥

This is one of the three verses quoted by *Āp. Dh. S.* II.6.13.6 and also occurs in *Baud. Dh. S.* II.2.40. Ādiparva 74.111 reads—

रेतोधाः पुत्र उन्नयति नरमेव यमक्षयात् ।
भरस्व पुत्रं दुष्यन्त मावमंस्थाः शकुन्तलाम् ॥

The same verse occurs again in Ādiparva 95.31. where it is quoted as an Ānuvaṁśa śloka. So all (*Āp.*, *Baud.* and the *M.B.*) probably borrowed from or adapted a common source.

C. Verses common to *Baud. Dh. S.* and *M. B.*

(9) नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती नित्यस्वाध्यायी वृषलान्नवर्जी ।
ऋतौ च गच्छन्विधिवच्च जुह्वन्न ब्राह्मणश्च्यवते ब्रह्मलोकात् ॥

This is *Baud. Dh. S.* II.2.1 (S. B. E. Vol. XIV, p. 224) and Vas. VIII. 17 (where the reading in 2nd *pāda* is *patitānnavarjī*). This is the same as Udyogaparva 40.25 which reads *patitānnavarjī* and *satyam bruvan gurave karma kurvan na brā...lokāt.*

पन्था देयो ब्राह्मणाय गवे राज्ञे ह्यचक्षुषे ।
वृद्धाय भारतप्ताय गर्भिण्यै दुर्बलाय च ॥

This is *Baud. Dh. S.* II.3.57 (S. B. E. Vol. XIV, p. 243) and Anuśāsanaparva 104.25 (which reads °*gobhyo rājabhya eva ca*).

(10) स्तुवतो दुहिता त्वं वै याचतः प्रतिगृह्णतः ।
अथाहं स्तूयमानस्य ददतोऽप्रतिगृह्णतः ॥

This is quoted in *Baud. Dh. S.* II.2.90 (S. B. E. Vol. XIV, 237) as a *gāthā* from the dialogue of the daughters of Uśanas and Vṛṣaparvan (viz. Devayānī and Śarmiṣṭhā). It is remarkable that the same verse occurs in Ādiparva 78.10 in the same dialogue where the verse reads—

याचतस्त्वं हि दुहिता स्तुवतः प्रतिगृह्णतः ।
सुताहं स्तूयमानस्य ददतोऽप्रतिगृह्णतः ॥

If one may hazard a conjecture the form of the verse in Ādiparva looks more ancient and the verse in *Baud.* an improved version, since the two halves of the verses in the Ādi. do not show the same sequence of the actions of praising, begging and accepting in it, while in the verse as seen in *Baud.* they are so seen. In Ādi. 78.34 the words are *stuvato duhitā nityam....gṛhṇataḥ | aham tu stūyamānasya* etc.

D. Verses common to *Vas.* and *M. B.*

(11) अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः।
तासामनन्तं फलमश्नुवीत यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात्।

This is *Vas.* 28.16. It is also Vanaparva 200.28 where the third pāda is *lokāstrayastena bhavanti dattā* and the fourth has *gāśca.* It is remarkable that this verse occurs in many comparatively ancient inscriptions and is attributed to Vyāsa in some of them. For example, in the Rajim plate of Tīvaradeva (Gupta inscription, No. 81) this verse occurs, the third pāda being *dattāstrayastena bhavanti lokāḥ.* In *E. I.*, Vol. VI, p. 285 at p. 293 (the Dantivarma plate of Śaka 789) the verse is ascribed to Vyāsa and also in the Baloda plate of Tīvaradeva (*E. I.*, Vol. VII, p. 105) ; vide also *E. I.*, Vol. IX, p. 37 (plate of Indrarāja III dated Śaka 836) and p. 173 (Khariar copper plate of Mahāsudeva). In *E. I.*, Vol. VI, at p. 294 and in *E. I.* Vol. IX, p. 37, the third pāda is *lokatrayam tena bhaveddhi dattam yaḥ* etc.

(12) उद्वाहकाले रतिसंप्रयोगे प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे।
विप्रस्य चार्थे ह्यनृतं वदेयुः पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥

This is *Vas.* 16.36. In the Ādiparva 82.16 we have a similar verse :

न नर्मयुक्तं वचनं हिनस्ति न स्त्रीषु राजन्न विवाहकाले।
प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥

Here two pādas are the same in both, though their positions differ. In Śānti. 165.30 we read *na narmayuktamanṛtam hinasti. . . .kāle* | *na gurvartham nātmano jīvitārthe pañcā°.*

E. Miscellaneous.

(13) त्वमग्ने सर्वभूतानामन्तश्चरसि पावक।
साक्षिवत् पुण्यपापेभ्यो ब्रूहि सत्यं कवे मम ॥

This is *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* II. 104. This is the same as Ādiparva 5.27 where the last pāda reads *°pāpeṣu satyam brūhi kave vacaḥ* and there is *nityadā* for *pāvaka.* It looks as if Yāj. twisted the words in the Ādi to suit the context of his section on fire ordeals.

(14) मयि जीवति यत्तातः केशग्रहमवाप्तवान्।
कथमन्ये करिष्यन्ति पुत्रेभ्यः पुत्रिणः स्पृहाम् ॥

This is *Veṇīsaṁhāra* III. 27. It is the same as Droṇaparva 195.9-10. It appears somewhat strange that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa bodily took over a stanza in his drama from the *Mahābhārata.*

(15–19) तलवद् दृश्यते व्योम खद्योतो हव्यवाडिव।
न तलं विद्यते व्योम्नि न खद्योते हुताशनः ॥
न सा सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धा वृद्धा न ते ये न वदन्ति धर्मम् ॥
नासौ धर्मो यत्र नो सत्यमस्ति न तत्सत्यं यच्छलेनानुविद्धम् ॥

नग्नो मुण्डः कपालेन परद्वारे बुभुक्षितः ।
अमित्रान्भूयसः पश्येद्यः साक्ष्यमनृतं वदेत् ॥
यां रात्रिमधिविन्ना स्त्री यां चैवाक्षपराजितः ।
यां च भाराभितप्ताङ्गो दुर्विवक्ता स तां वसेत् ॥
अश्वमेधसहस्रं च सत्यं च तुलया धृतम् ।
अश्वमेधसहस्राद्धि सत्यमेव विशिष्यते ॥

These five verses occur in the *Nārada-smṛti* (ed. by JOLLY, Vyavahāramātṛkā 72, sabhālakṣaṇa 18, ṛṇādāna 202, 203, 211). They are respectively Śānti 111.66, Udyoga 35.58, Udyoga. 35.31-32 (but the first pāda of 32 is *nagare pratiruddhaḥ san bahirdvāre bubhukṣitaḥ*), Ādi. 74.103. The last also occurs in Anuśāsana. 72.29 and Śānti. 162.26. These five do not occur in Manu.

A few tentative conclusions may be set out from the above somewhat meagre material. We know from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (S. B. E., Vol. 44, pp. 98, 369) that even in its days *itihāsa* was spoken of as Veda and that some *itihāsa* was recited in the Aśvamedha sacrifice on the nights called Pāriplava. In the oldest Upaniṣads like Chāndogya (III. 4. 1 and 2, VII. 1.2 and 4, VII.2.1, VII.7.1) *itihāsapurāṇa* is mentioned.[1] From the manner in which *itihāsapurāṇa* is mentioned it follows that itihāsa-purāṇa was a body of literature almost as sacred as the four Vedas and held to be almost as ancient. In the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (II. 4. 10, IV.1.2 and IV.5.11) also *itihāsa* and *purāṇa* are practically given the same status as the four Vedas. What the itihāsa and purāṇa of those days contained cannot be ascertained. Those works are irretrievably lost. Śaṅkarācārya had the insight to see that in the passages of the Upaniṣads itihāsa and Purāṇa could not refer to the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas that were extant in his day and so he explains (on *Bṛ. Up.* II.4.10) 'itihāsa' as brāhmaṇa passages (e.g. Śatapatha XI. 5.1) such as the dialogue of Urvaśī and Purūravas, and 'purāṇa' as such cosmological accounts as 'In the beginning this world was non-existent.' It seems that there were in the times of the oldest Upaniṣads probably two works closely connected that contained historical, legendary and cosmological matters. When such ancient works as the *Āp. Dh. S.* refer to 'purāṇa' (in the singular) they probably refer to the Purāṇa that was intended by the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* or its subsequent recast and that they quote the verses from that very ancient work. It is equally possible that there was originally one work called 'Itihāsa-purāṇa'

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1. स होवाचर्ग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि...आथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदम् ।
छा. VII. 1.2 ;
नाम वा ऋग्वेदो...आथर्वणश्चतुर्थ इतिहासपुराणः पञ्चमो वेदानां वेदः । छा. VII. 1.4.
2. एवं वा अरेऽस्य महतो भूतस्य निश्वसितमेतद्यदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः etc. बृह. उप. II. 4.10.

and that subsequently it was split up into two ('itihāsa' and 'purāṇa') and later into several itihāsas and purāṇas. The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (II. 9-10) mentions itihāsas and purāṇas after the brāhmaṇas. This is probably a later interpolation in that work. The Nirukta (in I. 16 and XII.10) speaks of aitihāsikas and frequently says 'They tell the following story' (*tatra itihāsam. . . . ācakṣate*). It probably refers to the ancient work called 'itihāsa.' Patāñjali (*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, p. 234) derives the words 'aitihāsika' and 'paurāṇika.' Therefore it may be conjectured that the 'itihāsa' of the Upaniṣad period was gradually incorporated into what became the *Mahābhārata* and the 'Purāṇa' of that period was expanded into the several Purāṇas of later days. Therefore the original kernel of the *Mahābhārata* was the itihāsa mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the Upaniṣads and that the Dharmasūtras present a few of the verses contained in that ancient work, which were retained in the next version of the itihāsa and so are found even now. The fact that several hundred verses occur in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in the Manusmṛti and the dharmasūtras is to be explained as due to the same family (probably of the Bhṛgus) having devoted itself to the cultivation of the itihāsa-purāṇa and dharmaśāstra literature. The Manusmṛti originally might have contained verses in the Triṣṭubh metre, but subsequently when the final redaction was made about the beginning of the Christian era, there was a uniform employment of the Anuṣṭubh metre. It is due to this that in ancient Dharmasūtras like Vasiṣṭha verses in the Triṣṭubh metre are quoted as Mānava-ślokas (as in *Vas.* 19.37). The exact relationship of the extant *Mahābhārata* and the extant Manusmṛti is however a subject that cannot be dealt with here.

THE AGE OF YASTS

By

ERVAD M. F. KANGA, Bombay.

The yaṣts, as Dr. GELDNER remarks, must have formed the seventeen sections of the Baghān Nask.[1] The Pahlavi word *yaṣt*, avesta *yaṣtay*—is derived from root *yaz*,—the same stem from which the word 'yasna' is derived. The distinction between *yasna* and *yaṣt* is this that while the yasna is a collection of the *yaṣts* offered to Ahura Mazdā, the Ameṣā Spentas and yazatas, the *yaṣt* is an adoration offered to only one, either to Ahura Mazdā, or to one of the Amesā Spentas, or to one of the yazatas. It must not be forgotten that the yaṣts were recited as 'yasnas', 'vahmas', 'khṣnaothraṣ' and 'frasastays'[2] either of Ahura Mazdā or of one of the Ameṣā Spentas or yazatas, by the presiding priest in the presence of a Zoroastrian congregation. The yasna is a variegated mixture of monotonous drawling formulae and of interesting and in part very ancient texts, which have been skilfully knitted together into one whole. The yasna comprises seventy-two chapters or Hātay. —A close and minute study of the Avestan yaṣts as well as of the yasna will carry us to this conclusion that some of the chapters of the yasna are incorporated in the Yaṣt Literature and there are several verses or sections common to the Yasna and Yaṣts. Whether the Yasna has inserted this material from the Yaṣts or otherwise is a hard nut to crack. It is probable, though not at all certain, that Yasna being a conglomery of texts placed together for the purpose of litany, important sections or parts of the Yaṣts have been incorporated in the Yasna for the purposes of the litany. Lack of space forbids a lengthened criticism of this interesting and polemical question.

The Gāthās were composed in the crabbed, compressed and obscure style which has been replaced by a language, facile and clear, although its lucidity is to a very large extent the effect of a great poverty of ideas. The earliest note of poetry, as far as the Avesta Literature is concerned, is represented in perfect form in the Gāthās or Psalms of Zarathushtra, which give the outpourings of the prophet's heart in rhythmic measures that resemble in metre the Vedic verses of the bards of Ancient India. Formulae are ubiquitous, and repetitions perpetual. A favourite form in the glorification of successive Yazatas is the piling up of qualitative epithets for some lines together. Such strings of adjectives produce a striking literary effect. But the poets of the Yaṣts are generally artificial rather than artistic. It should also

1. Dr. WEST adopts the same view (Sacred Books of the East Vol. XXXVII. p. 35 note; p. 470 note 1.) and is corroborated by Prof. DARMESTETER who works out the theory in greater details. (Darm. II. XXVII.). The Rivayets also help us to come to the same conclusion.

2. Meaning worship, praise, propitiation and glorification.

be observed in this connection that for all their tedious repetitions the Yaṣts are not a dull reading, provided one knows how to skip. There is latent in the Yaṣts an abundance of curious lore, folk-legend, and epic material in embryo, such as finds full expression centuries later in the *Shahnamah.*

The Yaṣts are a treasure-trove of Iranian Epic poetry and of Iranian religious and moral literature. They are an ample mine for a knowledge of ancient Iranian poetry and mythology and constitute comparatively a very substantial portion of the Avestan Literature. They provide us ample ground for ethical, literary, historical and philological dissertations. They contain the valuable records of the historical legends of Iran and of the ancient mythology. Firdausi immortalises the king and heroes of the Kayanian Period in his monumental work based upon the materials handed down by tradition. The early bards who were contemporary with these popular heroes or who flourished in subsequent generations, must have recounted the tales of their prowess in the Avestan tongue and celebrated their praises in Odes sung in every Iranian house. Moreover they incorporate ancient Avestan traditions and history and contain much of the ancient laws. Further, they speak about glory and greatness, piety and benevolence, effort and exertion, truthfulness and valour, and love and patriotism of our great ancestors. The same elegent taste which is noticed in the poems of the Persian poets of the Samanide, Ghaznavide and Saljukide periods is patent in the songs embodied in the Yaṣts with this difference that while most of the panegyrics of Persian poets are in eulogy of some Monarch or minister or governor, sung in the expectation of a poetic reward, the Yaṣts are in praise of Ahura Mazdā and His Yazatas sung with a view to obtain a spiritual reward on the day of Judgment. In spite of the Yaṣts being poetic interpretations, their subject-matter strictly conforms to the religious and historical traditions which from times immemorial have come down as a legacy from generation to generation to the Iranians. After the Gāthās and the Yasna Haftanghāiti,[1] the Yaṣts form the oldest portion of the Avesta and some of the passages thereof are obscure, involved and incomprehensible. There is no wonder, if one encounters difficulties and obscurities in them, for they were composed in an antiquity, more than 2500 years ago, and its language even during the Achaemenian Period was peradventure a dead language. In spite of innumerable difficulties the significance and spirit of Avestan teachings are clear as crystal. It should be borne in mind that Yaṣts play an important rôle in the Avestan Literature, but their composition cannot be ascribed to the Prophet Zarathushtra. They

1. The Yasna Haftanghāiti, which is inserted in the midst of the Gāthās, means the Yasna of the Seven Chapters (chap. 35-42). This is composed in prose, and consists of a number of prayers and ascriptions of praise to Ahura Mazdā, to the Ameṣā Spentas, the souls of the righteous, the waters, the earth, the fires. It is more recent than the Gāthās, but is more ancient and original than the sections of the later Yasna. It is written in the archaic language. Originally it formed a separate book and it is quite possible that it must have been composed by one of the earliest successors of Zarathushtra.

are doubtless the work of various hands, still inspired by Zarathushtra. All the twenty-one Yaṣts of the Avesta in point of antiquity were not written at the same time nor by the same writer ; like the Vedas of the Brahmins they have been written by different persons at different times. Parts of the Avesta, therefore, may differ considerably from each other in regard to age. In determining the age of the Yaṣts the text criticism by means of metrical restoration is most instructive.

The Yaṣts are partly poetical and partly prose. They are generally of a higher poetical and epical character than the rest of the Later Avesta. It should be taken into consideration that whilst reading the Yaṣts, one must not look merely at their outward and simple language. The words employed must be regarded as a means for understanding the meaning. The simplicity of words as seen in the Yaṣts is not the special characteristic of the Avestan language, but in all ancient scriptures, the style is simple, sentences are short and thoughts repeated. The expressions which may appear to us as simple, were in ancient times replete with eloquence and rhetoric, allusions and metaphors, which on account of the revolutions of times, may not seem agreeable to our tastes. To the writers the simple style, apart from the deep significance the language conveys, has a charm in its simplicity. Although the Yaṣts are not to be found written in any known poetic metre, yet the words are balanced, the style is poetic, and the thoughts and sentiments are noble and sublime. The Yaṣts must have originally been composed in poetry like the Gāthās of Zarathushtra, divided into stanzas and verses of eight syllables and sometimes of ten or twelve syllables, but on account of subsequent explanatory and other interpretations, added to these less venerated poems by priests, theologians and lovers of national folklore, the Yaṣts seem to have lost their poetical formation in the mist of antiquity.

It has been established by the investigators of the Avesta, that for the sacred songs of the Mazdayasnians only the principle of the number of syllables is taken into consideration in their prosody, and we have no reason for admitting that there sprang up in later times in Iran quite independently a system based on the quantity of the syllables in the verse. In other words, verse in the Avesta depends only on the numbering of syllables and the placing of the Caesura. Dr. GELDNER in his very important monograph on "Ueber die Metrik des Jüngeren Avesta" has noted the total absence of any discoverable rhythm or any certain influence by accent or quantity. The most conspicuous feature of Avestan metric system is the complete disparity between the Gāthā's and the Later Avesta. In the Gāthās or Psalms of Zarathushtra there are elaborate metres, differing widely in the several groups. The Gāthās are by far the oldest literary monument of the Iranians. Seventeen such sermons in verse have been handed down to us (Yasna. 28-34, 43-51, and 53). The metre of the Gāthās is just the same as that of the Vedas, but there is a fundamental difference between the two. Vedic metre is one of quantity while the Gāthic metre is one of accent. The second point of difference is about the Cæsura, which is free in the Veda, as it was in Indo-European

Period, but its place is fixed in the Avesta.[1] The strophe (Av. *vacastaṣtay*—). of the Ahunavaiti Gāthā (y. 28-34) consists of 3 lines of 7 + 9 (or 8) syllables. The Caesura occurs at the end of the seventh syllable. The strophe of the Ushtavaiti Gāthā (y. 43-46) consists of lines 4 + 7 syllables. The Caesura occurs at the end of the 4th syllable. The strophe of the Spenta-Mainyu Gāthā (y. 47-50) consists of 4 lines each of 4 + 7 syllables, and thus corresponds to the Vedic Triṣṭubh. In individual cases the Jagatī measure, 5 + 7 syllables, takes its place, specially in Yasna 48·5 and 6. The Caesura occurs at the end of the 4th (or 5th) syllable. The strophe of the Vohu khṣhathra Gāthā (y. 51) consists of 3 lines each of 7 + 7 syllables. The Caesura occurs at the end of the 7th syllable. The strophe of the Vahishtōishtay Gāthā (y. 53) consists of two shorter and two longer lines, the former of 7 + 5 syllables with one Caesura, the latter of 7 + 7 + 5 syllables with double Caesura[2]. The metre of the Later Avesta is very simple and practically uniform. The simplicity of metre in the Yaṣt shows a more antique phase than the elaborate Gāthic rhythm. It consists of eight-syllable verses, very scarcely lengthened into twelve. The only variety is in the length of the stanza, which may contain three, four or five lines. The younger Avesta is characterised by perpetual blending of poetry and prose and metrical sequence may have frequently been lost by textual corruption where the subject-matter is old. Often new matter has been appended in an age which had forgotten the idiom of the old language. After Dr. GELDNER, Prof J. HERTEL has written a beautiful monograph on the Avestan Metre in his "Beiträge Zur Metrik des Awestas und des Ṛgvedas," which is singularly able and suggestive of new outlooks in the domain of Indo-Iranica. It has long been known that the octosyllabic verse without any further Caesura, mentioned above, is predominant in the Later Avesta, and that the traces of ten and twelve syllabic verses are to be held as questionable. The famous German Scholar LOMMEL has very recently tried to establish 10 and 12 syllabic verses in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* I. 185-245 ; 5. 1-92. He says that they generally occur at the beginning or at the end, but also by way of rhythmical change. Hertel's momentous monograph brings out in toto new features about the question. He maintains that the fixed numbers of syllables alone does not form a verse ; the mark of a verse is the tact, i.e., Caesura and stress, which have not been taken notice of upto now. He refutes the view of Dr. GELDNER by maintaining that the Later Avesta is not characterised by a blend of verse and prose as generally presumed, but practically the whole of the Avesta is composed in metre, being divisible into lines of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 syllables with regular Caesura except some corrupt pieces. According to his opinion, the usual or predominant verse is eight-syllabic ; the ten syllabic verse occurs as an initial or final verse, and if it

1. See BARTHOLOMAE Gāthā-translation II seq. and the introduction to the Gāthās , MEILLET, *Trois Conférences Sur les Gāthā de l'Avesta* p. 72.

2. Cf. BARTHOLOMAE. *Arische Forschungen*. II. 1 seq., III. 11 seq. ; GELDNER, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*. II. 26 seq.

occurs in the middle, it begins or terminates a sentence; and the verse of twelve syllable is employed in those places which are specially stressed. He further adds that the Gāthās are of strophic structure, with lines usually of 7, 9, or 11 syllables, and that the Later Avesta is composed of groups of lines usually Octosyllabic, but in certain cases decasyllabic and dodecasyllabic. The verse accent in the Later Avesta is iambic. This argument is illustrated by a metrical analysis of Vendidād chapters XXII and III, Hādhōkht Nask II and the decasyllabic and dodecasyllabic verses of Yaṣt Meher (yt. X).

A true Yaṣt, according to the views of Dr. GELDNER, has a division into cantos with a fixed introduction and a refrain. Thus many Yaṣts contain a succession of heroes or others who worshipped the Yazata, asked a boon and got it or failed. This is described in set formulae, with no variation in introduction or refrain except for the name of the new worshipper. On this criterion GELDNER rejects all the Yaṣts but eleven, viz Yaṣts Ābān, Tīr Gōsh, Meher, Farvardin, Behrām, Rām, Din, Ashi, Zamyāt and the Larger Sraosha Yaṣt (Yasna Hā LVII).[1] According to his view, the above mentioned Yaṣts are older compositions and the rest are later. A critical study of the age of the Yaṣts is offered by Ernst HERZFELD in *Archælogishe Mitteilungen Aus Iran*,[2] in which an attempt is made to separate early and later parts of the older Yaṣts. The system to be observed in the mythical chronology permits the conclusion that a fixed Heroogony existed before the composition of these Yaṣts. Ābān Yaṣt is composed in the time of Artaxerxes II. (404-358 B.C.). Farvardin Yaṣt contains the catalogue of names and is distinguished by its mythological system, which gives the form of the legends in the period before the fourth century B.C. with Yima Khshaeta at the head of the list. Prof. LOMMEL agrees that the language in which the Yaṣts were written was no longer a spoken language : it was the language of the priests and therefore archaic forms that may occur are no justification for their antiquity. These may owe to the scholastic attainments of the writer, who had more minutely studied the Gāthās and the older literature, and made good use of his scholarship. Still, in spite of this, Prof. LOMMEL would like to ascribe the date of composition of the Yaṣts to the latter end of Achæmenian Period.[3] But Prof Arthur CHRISTENSEN has attempted to fix the date of their compositions a little more approximately in his monumental work "Etudes sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique." The author fixes the date of the composition of the Yaṣts from what we may call internal-external evidence, from the viewpoint of style and diction, from parallel passages, from geographical data and from references to other known facts. He ascribes the Yaṣt Meher, Farvardin

1. Two yaṣts were composed in honour of Sraosha : one is Sraosha yaṣt Hādhōkht and the other Sraosha yaṣt Vadi i.e. the Greater Sraosha yaṣt. The latter is wrongly styled by the Avestan scholars Yaṣt-i-si-shab or yaṣt of the three nights. Ervad DHABHAR reads "Sarosh yaṣt i sar shab" and translates "Sraosha yaṣt (to be recited) at the beginning of the night." I read the phrase 'Srōs yaṣt dēr ṣap' and translate "Long Sraosha yaṣt of the night."

2 Page 125f.

3. *Die Yàṣt's des Awesta* by Herman LOMMEL p. 186.

and Zamyāt to a pre-Achaemenian period, or latest, contemporary with the Achaemenian, in spite of the mass of legends embodied in them which points unquestionably to a later development in Zoroastrian teaching He takes the Meher Yaṣt to be the oldest of the three. The eastern origin of the Yaṣt Literature is evident from the geographical references occurring in the Meher Yaṣt 13 and 14, wherein Mithra is said to review from the Mount Harā the Aryan settlements. I translate sec. 13 and 14 thus : 'Who (i.e. Mithra), the celestial Yazata, foremost climbeth Mount Haraiti (Alburz) in advance of the immortal, swift-horsed Sun ; who first bedecked with gold, grasps the beauteous lofty summits (and) from thence the Most beneficent (Mithra) surveys the whole Aryan home-land, where the valiant chiefs arrange their troops in-countless-numbers, where the high mountains, rich in pastures and water, increase nourishment for the cattle, where the deep lakes with vast waters stand, where the navigable broad rivers rush with-streaming-waves towards Ishkata and Pouruta, towards Mouru and Haroyu towards Gava-Sughdha, and Khvairizam.

The location of Ishkata and Pouruta is not definitely identified, but BARTHOLOMAE takes them as common names and translates "crag and rock."[1] The other places are certain : Mouru is Margiana, the Merv Oasis ; Haroyu is Aria, Herat.[2] Gava is Sogdiana and Khvāirizam is Chorasmia, the khiva Oasis. By Harā we are to understand here the Chaion of Paropamisos, Pamir. The Vendidād Ch. I mentions these and other eastern countries, but this chapter is written according to Andreas in the Parthian period, under Mithridates I. The same Yaṣt refers to Eastern and Western India, i.e., the territory on both the coasts of Indus, in § 104. The Zamyāt Yaṣt[3] belongs, as it were to Seistan and its horizon does not extend to the West of Iran. The author thinks that a part of the Farvardin Yaṣt refers to the legendary history of pre Zoroastrian times and is older than Ābān, Gosh, Rām, Ashi, and Zamyāt Yaṣts. His criterion of the style of the Yaṣt is this that the more ancient an Yaṣt, the more therein predominates poetical or metrical form. There is another fact that speaks for its antiquity. The ethnical names occurring in it point to primitive times. In all there are 227 names whose Fravashis are invoked As there are no names of later historical personages, the author concludes that the Farvardin Yaṣt is the most ancient writing of the Younger Avesta and seems to have been written in Eastern Iran. Prof. A. CHRISTENSEN takes Yaṣts Ābān, Tir, Behrām, Rām, Hōm Yasht (Yasna Hā IX-XI) and Yasna LVII (the larger Sarosh Yaṣt) to have been composed in the 4th Century B.C in the Achaemenian times. Of these he, like Prof. Ernst HERZFELD, takes Ābān Yāṣt to have been written sometime after 404 B.C. in the reign of Arta-

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1. Vide *Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*, von Fritz WOLFF. ; *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* 376, 900.

3. BARTHOLOMAE takes it as an adj. to the preceding and translates "(Margav) belonging to Haraēva (Herāt)."

2. For further details, see my brochure on "The philosophy of Zamyāt Yasht." Bombay 1938.

xerxes (404-358 B.C.). He places the Gosh Yaṣt, which speaks of an Yazata named Dravāspa in the first century A.C. Dravāspa is an uncommon name used in this Yast for Gosh. He refutes the theory of M. A. STEIN about APOOACIIO of Indo-scythian coins, and connects it with Dravāspa, letter 'd' being changed to 'l' in East-Iranian dialects. This deity is mentioned on the coins of Kanishka (about 125-152 A.C.), a king of the Kushans who ruled on the frontiers of India. So, he places this Yaṣt some time prior to the time of Kanishka, in the first century after Christ. The Rām Yaṣt is recent, but it is older than Gosh-Dravāspa Yaṣt. The Din is said to have been composed in the times of the Arsacides. Din Yaṣt is the text dedicated to Cistā and according to Prof. HERTEL, *Cista* (√*Cit* to, Shine) is practically equivalent to 'Daēna Mazdayasniṣ.' He says that *Cistā* seems to be abbreviated from *cistis cistā* "the illumination that has shone forth", hence "light of understanding" (obtained through the eyes) in mortals possessed-of- aṣa-the celestial Light, while Daēna means "light of understanding in general," which becomes cistā when it reaches the world [1] In the Vendidad, the vigour of the style and the poetic spirit of the Yaṣts are not observed. It is only here and there that old fragments of religious poetry are seen. Prof. A. CHRISTENSEN agrees with Prof. ANDREAS in taking the Vendidād to have been written in the times of the Parthian king Mithridates I. The list of countries, named in the First Fargard of the Vendidād, seems to be the countries in which Zoroastrianism was prevalent in the times of the Arsacides. Thus, the Vendidad seems to have been written in the early period of the rule of the Arsacides, i.e., in the 3rd century B.C.

In fine, the author sets up the following chronological table about the date of the composition of the Yāṣts :—

Yaṣt Mihir Yast Farvardin Yaṣt Zamyāt	Pre-Achæmenian or written in the time of the early Achæmenians.
Yaṣts Ābān, Ashi, Tir, Behrām, Yasna 9-11 (Hōmyt) Yasna 57 (Sraosha Yt. Vadi) and Rām (§§ 6-37)	Written in the times of the Ahæmenians, probably in the 4th century B.C.
Yaṣts Gosh-Dravāsp and Din and Vendidād	Composed during the time of Arscides or probably a little later.

1. *Übersetzung und Erlauterung* by J. HERTEL.

TWO MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN WORDS

By

S. M. KATRE, Poona.

1. EṆHIṀ

In the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* of TRENCKNER[1] we find a brilliant suggestion for the etymology of the Pāli word *ajjuṇho* (or *ajjaṇho*) as derived from an **adyu* (adya, cf. *aparajju, sajju*)[2]+*ahnaḥ* on the basis of Vedic *idā́* (*nīm*) *áhnaḥ*. Traces of the Pāli word are seen in Marāṭhī and Koṅkaṇī *ajūn*. So far as I am aware, no satisfactory etymology has been suggested for the Prakrit work EṆHIṀ[3] which has been given as an *ādeśa* along with ETTĀHE for Sanskrit *idānīm* by the orthodox Prakrit grammarians.[4] The normal form in Pk. for Sk. *i-dā(nīm)* is *iyā(ṇiṁ)*. But the Pk. word *eṇhiṁ* seems to contain within itself two elements *iyā* and *aṇhi* giving us an **iy-aṇhi*[5] : **eṇhi*, the final anusvāra being retained on the analogy of the form *iyāṇiṁ*. This leads us automatically to the etymology of the other *ādeśa* ETTĀHE[6] as composed of two elements *atra* (Pk. *ettha-* : **etta-*, losing the aspiration due to dissimilation in the group) and **ahe* (for *aṇhi*) the loc. sg. of *ahar/n*.

2. SAMAṆIRAYA

In the Apabhraṁśa poem *Karakaṇḍacariu*[7] there occurs an interesting word the explanation of which, as given by the Editor in his glossary, does not seem to bring out the true import of the word. The circumstances are as follows. The mother of the hero Karakaṇḍu, the queen Pomāvaī (Sk. Padmāvatī), being advised by the Khecara to leave her child in his care

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1. Revised, continued and edited by Dines ANDERSEN and Helmer SMITH, Copenhagen 1924 ff., p. 44.

2. <*a-dyu-*.

3. *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo* (PSM.) records *iyaṇhiṁ*, *eṇhaṁ*, *eṇhiṁ*, *iṇhiṁ*, *iyāṇim* and *eyānim* for Sk. *idā́nīm*. PISCHEL, § 144 also mentions *iṇhiṁ* beside, *eṇhiṁ*. These forms are characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrī, for the Māgadhī and Śaurasenī forms are *dāṇi*, and *dānim* (cf. Hemacandra 8.4.277, Puruṣottama IX. 26, *Prākṛtarūpāvatāra* 18.12, Lakṣmīdhara 3.2.12, Mārkaṇḍeya 8.24 ; 9.52 ; Rāmaśarma Tarkavāgīśa II 1.13), PISCHEL §§ 22, 144, 184, 348, 429.

4. This *ādeśa* has been taught by Hc. 8.2.134, Lakṣmīdhara 1.3.103, Mk. 8.24, etc.

5. The word actually occurs in the *Thāṇaṁga* 3, 3 according to PSM.

6. PISCHEL, § 426 (p. 302) considers this as the locative of *ĕttā-*<*etá* like *tāhe* of the fem. base, used adverbially in Māhārāṣṭrī in the sense of 'now'.

7. *Karakaṇḍacariu of Muni Kanakāmara*, critically edited by Hiralal JAIN, 1934 [=Karanja Jain Series, vol. IV], with Introduction, Translation, Glossary, Indices, Notes and Appendices.

for the due fulfilment of everyone's karman, hands over the child to him and in order to overcome the misery of separation from the child and being disgusted with the world, goes over to an elderly nun and takes up the vows of a lay disciple and finally becomes a nun herself under the tutorship of the famous sage Samāhigutta (Sk. Samādhigupta). The passage in question is as follows :

Kar. 2.6.7-8. :

> Tā dukkhie maṇi Pomāvayāë
> *Samaṇirayā* ajjiyakaṁtiyāhe
> Samaṇiyaraho ṇayaraho khaṇi gayāë
> Acchaṁtiye jama laí tāva tāhe

translated by the Editor as follows : " In the meanwhile, Padmāvatī, afflicted in mind, went at the very moment to the town nearby. Residing there she took religious practices from an *Arjikā* (a Jain nun) *who was devoted to peace.*" The word *samaṇirayā* is recorded in the glossary (p. 230 *b*) as *śama-niratā* "devoted to peace". In furthering this interpretation the learned Editor quotes the corresponding portion of the story from Śubhacandra's version in Sanskrit (p. 261) :

> Atha Padmāvatī khinnā *Gāndhārīm kṣāntikām kṣamām*
> Kṣaṇāt sā khedato dakṣā śiśrāya sukha-siddhaye ||53||
> Tathā Padmā jagāmāśu supadmābhā Jinālayam
> Nissahīti padam procya nanāma ca Jinākṛtīḥ||54||
> *Samādhigupta*-nāmānam munim gupti-trayātmakam
> Tri-ratna-rañjitam ramyam sā vavande vidāṁvarā || 55 || (Canto II)

There is nothing in this Sanskrit version to suggest that Ap. *samaṇiraya* is the equivalent of Sk. *śama-nirata*[1] or "devoted to *śama* or peace". The words *kṣāntikā* and *kṣamā* at once suggest on the other hand the Sk. words *kṣama-* or *śrama.* The first could easily replace the Editor's *śama-* without any change of meaning. The second word on the other hand does not fit in the compound *śrama-niratā* "devoted to fatigue, exerting herself greatly" in the sense given above. But under the peculiar circumstances the word *ajjiya-kantiyāhe* seems identical with the Sk. *kṣāntikā,* Ap. *kantiyā* (with loss of aspiration or possible mislection for *khantiyā*). In this case the word *śama-nirata* does not appear to be quite adequate to describe the nun, although the word *ajjiyā* has been translated by the Editor as a Jain nun. He has also skipped over the word *kantiyā* in his translation. We have two possibilities here : (*a*) either the reading should be *ajjiya-khanti-*

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1. This word occurs in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta (Kāvyamālā, guccha III, p. 54), verse 248 :

> *Śubhakarmaikaratā api ṣaṭkarmaṇyāyatā api svavaśāḥ |*
> *Anabhimata-raudra-caritāḥ śritapriyā api vasanti śamaniratāḥ ||*

yāhe "towards the nun Kṣāntikā (the pacified, patient)" or (*b*) it should mean *arjita-kānti* "one who has won renown, fame, lustre, etc." In the absence of variant readings in the MSS utilised by the Editor it seems better to adopt the second alternative. We then get the form *samaṇirayā* as definitely indicating a "nun or lady disciple". This leads us to the interesting words *śramaṇa-*, *śrāmaṇikā*, *śrāmaṇeraka-*, etc. which have lead to Pāli *sāmaṇera*, *sāmaṇerī* and *sāmaṇerā* meaning a novice. With the suffix *-ira*, *-era*, etc. from *śramaṇa* we get the possible *ur*-form of Ap. *samaṇirayā* as **śramaṇerakā*. If this etymology is acceptable it will prove an interesting survival of a word generally current in Buddhist Sk. and Pāli literatures in a later Apabhraṃśa work of the Jaina school of thought. The translation of the passage in this event would be:

"Padmāvatī, being troubled in mind, proceeded immediately to the neighbouring town, and while she remained there observing the vow of *yama* in the presence of the nun who had attained to great lustre (i.e. fame), there……."

INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY AROUND RĀVAṆA'S LAṄKĀ IN AMARKANTAK.

By

M. V. KIBE, Indore.

In a paper of mine read before the XVII International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in 1927 (referred to in its report as published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. IV No. 4, December 1928) and in another one read before the XIX Session of the same Congress held at Roma (published in *Atti Del XIX Congresso Internaziavale degli Orientalisti*, Roma 23-29, Sellimbre 1938 XIII, pp. 361-375) I have given evidence from Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* that Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was not located at or beyond the Southern end of India, but was situated on a peak in Central India. The late Prof. H. JACOBI wrote to me to say that it was more plausible than his theory according to which he located it in Assam. In the present paper I shall describe the inhabitants residing in this territory.

In the pleateau adjoining the peek in the Amarkantak, on which Laṇkā was situated, there resides a tribe known as Gonds, Gous or Guds. There are (1) Ravana (2) Wanar, (3) Raghu and (4) Komar (Kuvar, sons of the above vanshis). Not only are the names significant but the last tribe seems to represent those who are the descendants of the soldiers of Rāma and Rāvaṇa There is a difference between the culture and customs of these tribes. All of them have now become agriculturists.

They have however, retained some old customs. Among their Gods is an heroic figure riding a horse. It tallies with the description of a general of Rāvaṇa given in *Rāmāyaṇa* (6-59-18) It runs thus :-

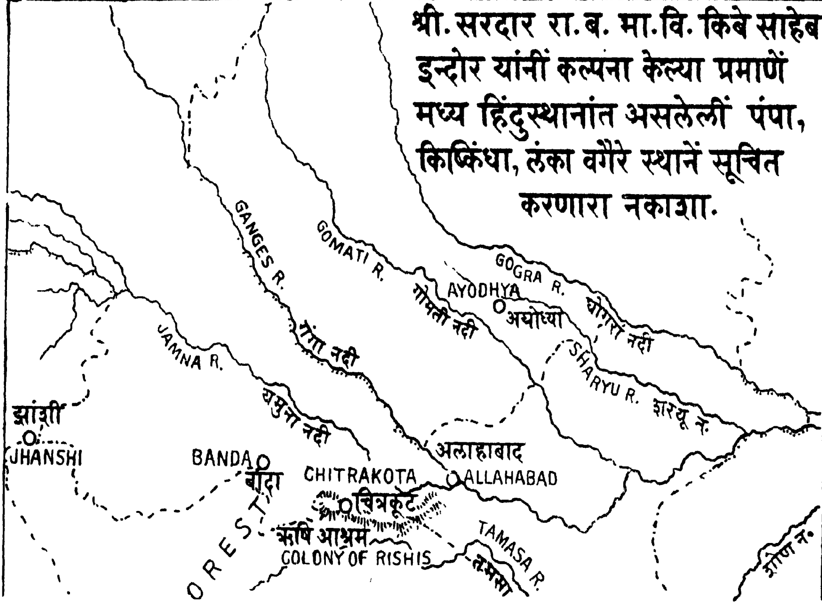
योऽसौ हयं कांचन भाण्डमारुह्य

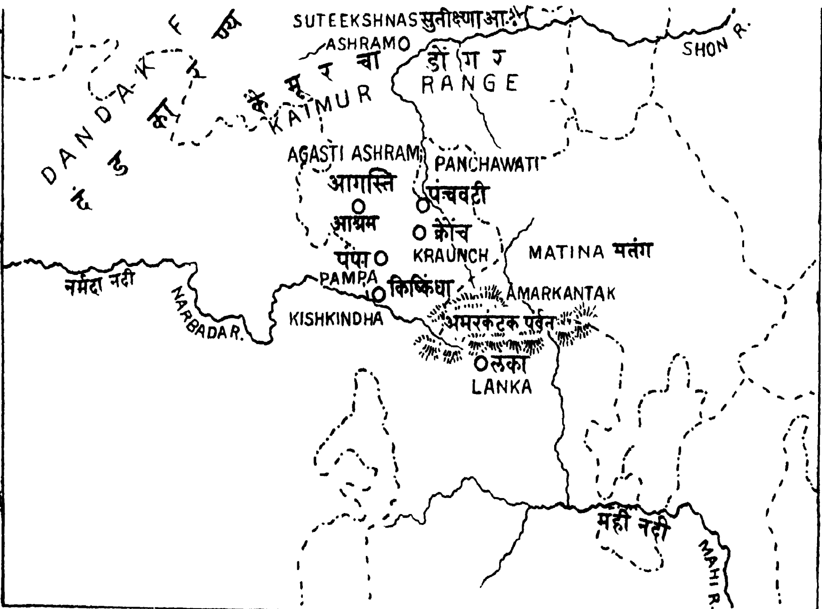
He rode a horse glittering with gold like the sun.

In the map appended to this, are mentioned places according to the directions given in the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*, irrespective of the fact whether those places are to be traced as the sites at present as marked therein or not. Lately a remarkable confirmation has been found of the identification of the site of Sūtīkṣṇa Āśrama. Such a place really exists at present and is now lying in the Panna State territory. If proper geographical search is made it may lead to the identification of other places too. Even now a visit to these parts gives reality to the description in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The late Ra· Bahadur Dr. HERALAL of Katni drew my attention to the following extract from "Naga Tribes of Manipur" by Mr. T. C. HUDSON. He describes the costume of a Naga warrior thus :—" The cane helmet which is sometimes covered with tiger or leopard skin bears a brass disc in front and then crescents of buffalo horn, topped with red hair, are fastened to it in





BHARATA P W POONA CITY

front. This looks like a pair of horns which it may be intended to imitate. The most curious ornament on these occasions is the candal appendage with its curve upwards—Is this indeed a tail?" At any rate the above description tallies with the appearance of Hanumān and others as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* as far as, at any rate the tail is concerned, and therefore, I am of the opinion that the ten heads or mouths of Rāvaṇa, as well as the tails of so-called monkeys in Rāma's Army were ornaments and not natural growth. However tales of the tails of human beings have been authenticated in "La Pate Glycerine-Kaoline" by Dr. H GALMIER of the Faculty of Medicine. Two photographs of men having such tails have been published. I append them herewith.

In support of my theory that Laṅkā was located on a peak of the Amarkantak in Central India, I have been entirely relying on Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa,* but as a perusal of journals of learned societies will show, evidence in support of it is being discovered from Purāṇas also.

A SAKA NAME OF MAZĀR-TĀGH

By

STEN KONOW, Oslo.

In one of his important papers about Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan, Professor THOMAS has[1] dealt with the local name Śiṅ-śan and shown that it was almost certainly 'the proper name of the settlement at Mazār-Tāgh.' According to Sir Aurel STEIN[2] Mazār Tāgh literally means 'Hill of the sacred shrine', and the place 'must have already possessed its sanctuary in Buddhist times'.

Professor THOMAS draws attention to the existence of a short legend in Khotanese Saka in the Tibetan document M. Tāgh. 0483 : *garä vī ce Ysaināguttre ttye rä śtä haurāṃñai* 'is to be given to the Ysināgotra which (or who) is on the hill', and he explains the last syllable of the name Śiṅ-śan as Chinese *shan* 'a hill', corresponding to Saka *garä*. Śiṅ-śan, he says, is perhaps a corruption of some native name. Now we read in the Gośṛṅga-Vyākaraṇa[3] : 'and at that time blessed Tathāgata-images from other and other lands, arrived in this land, will guard the land's borders... In the northern quarter, in a land called Śen-ẑe, a Tathāgata-image named Śen-ẑa risen from the nether world, will guard the land's borders'. According to Professor THOMAS 'the Tibetan *Śin-śan* represents, therefore, an accomodation to their speech of *śen-(ẑa-)śan*.'

If he is right, as I think he is, it is tempting to draw the inference that the word *garä* in the Khotanese Saka legend is to be explained as the name of Mazār-Tāgh, as a short name for 'Image Hill', and translate 'Hill' and not 'hill'.

So far as I can see we actually find the word used as a proper name in a document from Mazār-Tāgh, No. bü 0065.[4] It is written in cursive Brāhmī, and it is incomplete, stopping in the middle of a word in the beginning of the sixth line. The text is metric. In the transliteration which follows I shall not take notice of minor details such as the occasional writing of the anusvāra almost like an *i*.

Cī ṣi śiri bāḍi ye ttāṃmma khu ṣi bhadrrakalpī mistä
mi̮ṣḍi gyī(a)stä mari yzaṃthä̮ nāte Viśakīrtä pūñāṃ prrabhāvina || 1 ||
subhikṣi mari paṃñe hirna rruṃdi hīyaujsi pūñaujsa
ttāguttyau hvāṣṭyau pātci ci ṣṭāṃ ttū Hvaṃ kṣiri ka̮idi || 2 ||

1. *JRAS*, 1930, pp. 79 ff.
2. *Serindia*, ff. 1285, 1287.
3. THOMAS, *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkistan*, London 1935, p. 24.
4. *Serindia*, Plate CLI.

kṣasaṃmī ṣṭāṃ tsve kṣuṃṇi panatai gaurivi mista
parvālāṃ pajsaṃ prracaina hā dharmä āhārä keṃṇa | | 3 | |
ṣi mīvā ṣadajsi brīya namaṃdrrye gari vīrāṣṭa
āśarya dva ṣi ttū kālä rrāhaji āstaṃ māśte | | 4 | |
kṣīri āysdarrji parracaina haspisyarä ā vāṃña
śā salī śiri apvaṣṭi khu vyachīṃdi harbaiśi pīle | | 5 | |
ūpakaraṃṇi cibūrāṃ śṭāka karaṇi harbäśūṃ vāṣṭi
hajasau (*i.e.* haṃjsaunde)

'When (there came) then such a good time as this great one of the Bhadrakalpa, his gracious majesty took birth here, Vijayakīrti, through the force of merits. 1.

Abundance here with everything, through the merits belonging to the king, and again through such principles who are bethought of the Khotan realm. 2.

His sixteenth regnal year now went along, great reverence arose with him, with regard to the worship of the guardian gods, for the sake of dharma nourishment. 3.

He then, in faith and attachment, invited to the Hill two monks, he at this time, beginning from the month Rrāhaja (the last winter month). 4.

'For the sake of the caretaking of the realm, they should exert themselves here in the temple, for one year, well and without fear, so that they remove all troubles'. 5.

As many requisites as were procurable for them, all kinds of means for their sake he brought together thither.'

There cannot, I think, be any doubt that *gari* is here the name of a locality, in which there was a *vāna*, a settlement or a temple, and I think we may see in this *gari* the Khotanese Saka designation of Mazār-Tāgh, probably in the eighth century A.D.

THE FLYING (QUIVERING) FLAME IN THE DECORATIONS OF THE FAR EAST

By

H. MARCHAL, Paris.

These notes are written after a series of detailed observations in the course of a mission in the Far East. The human figure and the animal occupy a very important place in Far Eastern decorations. One sees them mixed up in the volute of ornaments, a symbol of the fusion of the creatures in this universe and of the transformations which are explained by the theory of metempsychosis. The vegetable kingdom transforming itself into the animal one is a motif frequently noticed as much in Cambodia as in Annam or in the islands of Oceania.

But it also happens that things,. objects and elements are equally combined with the decoration, be it in painting or in sculpture. The very important solution which the Chinese have given to stylicised clouds in their decorations is well known. I shall give here another example of motif lent to an element, the flying flame which accompanies mythological scenes sculptured on the bas-reliefs or painted in frescoes upon the walls of temples at Bali, in Java, in Burma and in Cambodia.

These flames, chiefly in Bali and in Java, have a magical character and represent under a plastic form the energy and the spiritual power which emanate from certain beings, Gods, Heroes or Priests. This ornament which affects at times quite varied forms symbolises the occult power which the personages possess in them ; it gives an external manifestation, it materialises this power under a concrete and visible form.

The most ordinary and the simplest form is generally a flame, elongated and pointed at one extremity, lightly undulated and rolled up in spiral at its lower end (fig. 4).

In the island of Bali this motif intervenes very frequently in modern decorations and it affects the most bizarre and the most varied forms. This conforms with the character of the Balinese who, in spite of the contact received by them with Hindu civilization, are an essentially Animist people. These people have preserved yet very vividly the souvenir of ancient cultures which spread from Oceania right up to the Asiatic continent and over it. Of this culture we still notice in our time the traces in certain tribes of Indo-China. We know that the very first inhabitants of this latter country were of Malayo-Polynesian race ; the manners, customs and arts of Annamites and Cambodians still afford evidence of the traces of this ancient civilization upon which have been grafted a Chinese civilization in the North of Indo-China and the Hindu civilization in the South.

These Chinese and Hindu contacts coincide with the appearance in history of Annamite and Cambodian or Khmer kingdoms.

It appears that the motif of the flying magical flame is a reminder of these primitive civilizations where the forces of Nature intervene to play a rôle in mythology.

Looking at the matter from a purely decorative and plastic view-point I shall give some examples of the form which this flying flame has taken in Far Eastern countries which received a Hindu influence.

It was at Bali, as has been mentioned above, that this motif was interpreted with the greatest fantasy and imagination. The Balinese decorator knows how to transform the different motifs which he uses for ornamenting the walls of his "PURAS (temples)" with a veritably surprising energy. The fantastic and at times demoniacal character of the Balinese decoration inspires belief in spirits and occult powers which is the foundation of the religion of these people.

The flame is very often represented at Bali by one or more pointed tongues and it is under this form that one can see it symbolising the terrible power of the Goddess RANGDA who upon her long tongue bends down right up to the ground, or is seen coming out of the gullets of the dragons-Nāgas, as for example in the decoration at Pura Taman at Khing Kung

It was also at Khing Kung that I took the motif (No. 1) on a panel of a door sculptured in wood. Here the flames rest upon a kind of supporting arch. Other isolated flames fly up from all sides round the personages represented on this panel.

At Pura Agong at Ubud I took the motif (No. 2) which is a reminder of the motif much appreciated by the Balinese, "The Karang Bontulu", the eye pictured above a jaw bone, synthesis of the head of Boma which is the equivalent of the Kāla or Kīrtimukha of India. The panel upon which this motif occurs represents an episode from a mythological scene, a battle in which magical powers intervene.

The flying flame in fig. No. 3 is also supported by an arch. This flame surmounts a picture of the terrible Goddess RANGDA upon a bas-relief in Pura Desa at Kapal.

Sometimes there occurs a compromise between the flower and the flame in these magical signs which symbolise the occult power of the personages represented. Such is the flower flame (No. 4) taken from one of the stones sculptured in Pura Pusering Djagat at Pedjeng.

The flying flame is sometimes deeply indented and takes the decorative form of a bough or a cross, as is seen on one of the panels decorating the walls of the Pura of Den Pasar where the personages are represented in the forms of little figures of Wayang.

Upon an ancient Balinese painting exhibited at the museum at Sono Boedooj in Djoka Karta, I noticed the flying flame (No. 6) which has very precisely the form of a flower. This form reminds one of what one sees upon the Khmer bas-relief (No. 11.) of the period of Angkor.

One can notice at Java that it is particularly in the oriental portions of the island that the motif of the flying flame is observable, interpreted with the greatest fantasy. In certain monuments the bas-reliefs are very evidently inspired by the Wayang figures ; for example at TJANDI TOEMPANG (or Tjandi Doagj) the form of the magic flames which accompany the scenes represented is a curious compromise between the undulating band very frequent in the architectural decorations of Java, the chiselled cloud and the flame properly so called (No. 7).

The temple of Panataran shows also the bas-reliefs of the Wayang type where forces of Nature emanating from the figures are very singularly silhoutted in the form of clouds, animals or of monsters ; one of these motifs (No. 8) evokes a fantastic being with the form slightly like an evil genius and with a head showing a parrot's beak.

In Burma the walls of Upali Thein at Pagan are decorated with frescoes where ones sees, above a Buddhistic personage, the flame which escapes in a sort of flower.

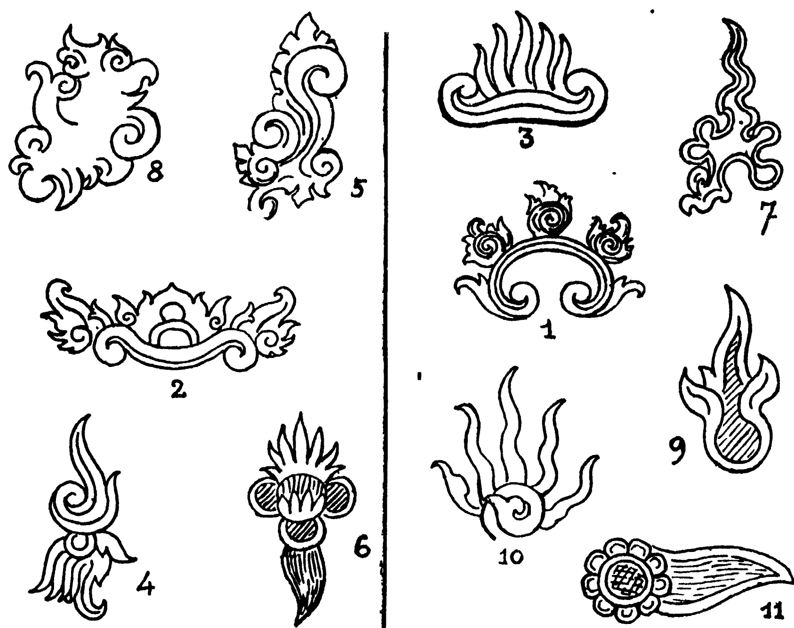
In the interior of another temple in Pagan the flying flames round the figure of a monk in a standing position again show their character of pointed tongues of fire.

In Cambodia the Khmer decoration shows in bas-reliefs sculptured on the monuments during the Angkor period the flying flames stylised in the form of flowers elongated by a kind of wing. An example of this can be seen on the portico of the temple of Chau Say Tevada in the East side of the town of Angkor Thom (No. 11).

The transformation, in Cambodia, of flame into flower is particularly visible in the scenes from Buddha's life ; one ought to see doubtless in this a reminder of the showers of flowers falling from the Heavens mentioned in the sacred Buddhist Texts.

It appeared of interest to me to present in these notes some aspects which this symbolic motif represents in the iconography of the Far East.

It is curious to observe that the magical flame is most frequently replaced in China by the motif of the cloud which symbolises the element contrary to water.



1. Modern Balinese decoration.
2. Modern Balinese decoration.
3. Modern Balinese decoration.
4. Modern Balinese decoration.
5. Modern Balinese decoration.
6. Ancient Balinese decoration.
7. Ancient Javanese decoration.
8. Ancient Javanese decoration.
9. Ancient Burman decoration.
10. Ancient Burman decoration.
11. Ancient Khmer decoration.

VĀMADEVA, AN EARLY KALACURI KING

By

V. V. MIRASHI, Nagpur.

Several inscriptions of the Kalacuris of Tripurī state that the reigning king meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara the illustrious Vāmadeva.[1] In the records[2] of some feudatory princes of Karkareḍī (modern Kakreri in the Rewa State) also, the same statement occurs in the description of the contemporary Kalacuri Emperor, with only this difference that one more epithet viz. Paramamāheśvara is applied to Vāmadeva. The statement is again, repeated in connection with the Candella king Trailokyavarman in the Rewa plates[3] of his feudatory Kumārapālavarman. Judging from other records the expression *pādānudhyāta* should ordinarily indicate immediate succession as that of a son to his father or of one brother to another. But Vāmadeva could not plainly have been the immediate predecessor of all these kings. A similar difficulty had presented itself in connection with some Valabhī records which mentioned that certain kings meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara the illustrious Bappa, but Dr. FLEET, who noticed a similar expression in the records of some other dynasties also, solved it satisfactorily by taking the statement to mean that these kings meditated on the feet of their father.[4] Such an explanation is impossible in the present case, as Vāmadeva does not denote the sense of any relative, but is apparently a proper name. Scholars have, therefore, offered several explanations of the expression *Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta*. It is intended to examine them in the present article and to offer a better explanation if possible.

(1) In translating the Khairhā plates[5] of Yaśaḥkarṇa Rai Bahadur HIRALAL took Vāmadeva to be a name of Śiva. Most of the Kalacuri princes were devotees of Śiva. The expression *Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta* could, therefore, have been used in this sense to describe them. But in all these records Vāmadeva is mentioned with the paramount titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara, which are not known to have been used elsewhere in connection with the names of gods. Besides, all these records describe the reigning king as *paramamāheśvara*, 'a devout worshipper

1. Dr. KIELHORN has shown that the expression *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-śrī-Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta* occurs in connection with five Kalacuri kings, viz. Karṇa, Yaśaḥkarṇa Narasiṁha, Jayasiṁha and Vijayasiṁha. *EI*, II, 298.

2. *IA.*, XVII, 224 f.

3. *Ibid.*, XVII, 230 f.

4. Bappa (*Bāp* in Marāṭhī) means father. See *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, 186 f.

5. *EI.*, XII, 216.

of Maheśvara (Śiva),' which would thus be superfluous. Again, as already stated, Vāmadeva himself is called *paramamāheśavra* in the records of the. Kakreri princes, which clearly shows that Vāmadeva was a devotee of Śiva and not identical with Śiva himself.

(2) Dr. BARNETT suggests that "these princes, who are called Vāmadeva, were perhaps so noted for their devotion to that deity that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself."[1] This would in a way explain the use of paramount titles as well as the epithet *paramamāheśvara* in connection with the name of Vāmadeva, but it is doubtful if such a belief was current at the time. Besides, it is unlikely that all these princes were so fervent devotees of Śiva that they came to be identified with that god immediately after their death. There is certainly nothing to warrant it in the eulogistic portions of their successors' grants.

(3) It has been recently suggested that Vāmadeva was the name of a Śaiva ascetic. While editing the Malkāpuram stone pillar inscription[2] of Rudradeva (Rudrāmbā), Mr. J. Ramayya PANTULU first put forward the conjecture that Vāmadeva was identical with the Śaiva pontiff Vāmaśambhu mentioned in that record. This inscription, which is dated Śaka 1183 (A.D. 1261-62) says that Vāmaśambhu's feet were caressed by the garlands on the heads of kings and that even now (*ady-āpi*) the Kalacuri kings are honoured for worshipping his feet.[3] This Vāmaśambhu was the second in spiritual descent from Sadbhāva-Śambhu, the founder of the Goḷakī *maṭh* in the Ḍāhala country, who obtained the gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva.[4] Dr. D. C. SIRCAR, who has recently written on the subject,[5] identifies this Yuvarājadeva with Yuvarājadeva I-Keyūravarṣa, who is known from other records[6] also to have invited other Śaiva ascetics to his country and to have made munificent gifts to them. He places Vāmaśambhu in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. As the first record in which the expression *Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta* occurs is the Benares grant of Karṇa, who came to the throne in A.D. 1041, Dr. D. C. SIRCAR corroborates Mr. PANTULU'S view that Vāmadeva was identical with the Śaiva pontiff Vāmaśambhu. The description in the Malkāpuram inscription that even then (i.e. in the thirteenth century A.D.) the feet of Vāmaśambhu were worshipped by Kalacuri kings squares with the fact that the expression *Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta* occurs in all records of the Kalacuris of Tripurī from Karṇa onwards.

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1. H. C. RAY—*The Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, 776.
2. *JAHRS*. IV, 152.
3. अथ नृपशेखरमालालालितपादोत्र वामशंभुरभूत् ।
   अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ॥
4. *JAHRS*. IV, 157.
5. *IHQ*., XIV, 96 f.
6. *EI*, XXI, 148, XXII, 128.

The similarity in the names Vāmadeva and Vāmaśambhu is certainly tempting and the latter may have been a contemporary of the Kalacuri Karṇa.[1] The use of the paramount titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara in connection with Vāmadeva is, however, difficult to explain. Dr. SIRCAR has, of course, shown[2] that spiritual teachers were called Bhaṭṭārakas and Mahābhaṭṭārakas and he thinks that as Vāmadeva was the lord of three lakhs of villages, he may have been given the titles Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara. Besides, Vāmadeva's disciple, the Kalacuri king, who assumed these imperial titles, could not have used lesser ones in naming his *guru*. It is, however, undeniable that we have not till now come across a single instance of the use of these titles in connection with the name of a spiritual teacher.

An insuperable objection to this identification is that a similar statement has been discovered in a record which dates much earlier than the time of the Kalacuri Emperor Karṇa. At Saugor, the chief town of the Saugor District of the Central Provinces, a number of sculptures were collected from the neighbouring places many years ago and built up into small imitation kiosks in the garden of the military mess-house[3]. One of these sculptures has a much defaced inscription at the top. It is incised on a slab of red sandstone. In the panel below,[4] the principal figures are those of a man who has folded his hands in salutation and a woman probably his wife who has placed her right hand on the head of a small female figure obviously their daughter, who also stands with folded hands. Behind the male figure appears a horse and behind the latter another male figure, apparently a groom, holding the reigns of the horse.

This inscription[5] is incised in the proto-Nāgarī characters of about the middle of the eighth century A.D. They resemble those of the stone-pillar inscription[6] of Śaṅkaragaṇa at Choṭi-Deori which lies about a hundred miles to the east. The lower portion of the inscription is much defaced by

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1. This would however be improbable if Yuvarājadeva, who made the munificent gift to Sadbhāvaśambhu is identified with Yuvarājadeva I—Keyūravarṣa; for the latter flourished in *circa* A.D. 915-40, as he was the father-in-law of Amoghavarṣa III, (A.D. 937). The period of a century would thus be covered by only two generations of Śaiva ascetics viz. Somaśambhu and Vāmaśambhu, even if we suppose that the latter was a very old man at the beginning of Karṇa's reign (A.D. 1041). If Yuvarājadeva was the second prince of that name, who flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century, the identificaton of Vāmadeva and Vāmaśambhu would appear more probable.

2. *IHQ.*, XIV, 99 f.

3. *Saugor District Gazetteer*, p. 257.

4. See the photograph reproduced here.

5. This inscription was listed by R. B. HIRALAL in the first edition of his *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar*, but he gave no account of it then. In the second edition of the work (p. 49) he calls it the oldest Kalacuri record and refers it to the ninth century A.D.

6. CUNNINGHAM's *ASR.* XXI, plate XXVIII.



An Inscribed Panel from Saugor

exposure to weather, but what remains of it is sufficient to show that its object was to record some religious work done by a woman, probably represented by the small female figure in the panel below, for the religious merit and fame of her father and mother. The first two lines of the inscription which are better preserved refer to the increasingly glorious reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parmeśvara, the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇaḍeva, who meditated on the feet of the Parambhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, the illustrious Vāmarājadeva.[1] This Śaṅkaragaṇadeva was evidently identical with the homonymous prince mentioned in the Choti-Deori inscription. Mr. R. D BANERJI[2] identified the latter with his namesake, mentioned in Kārītalāī stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja, who probably flourished in the second half of the tenth century A.D., but the identification is disproved by the palæography of the two records. The Saugor and Choti-Deori records cannot certainly be as late as the tenth century A.D. I would refer them to the middle of the eighth century A.D. on the evidence of palæography.[3] This Śaṅkaragaṇa must therefore have flourished much earlier than Kokalla I (circa A.D. 850-75) the first king of the Kalacuri dynasty of Tripurī so far known from published records.[4]

As stated above this Śaṅkaragaṇa meditated on the feet of Vāmarājadeva who is mentioned in the record with imperial titles. The name Vāmarājadeva clearly shows that he was a king and not a spiritual teacher. In any case, as he seems to have lived nearly three centuries earlier than Vāmaśambhu, he cannot be identified with the Śaiva pontiff. In a subsequent record the name Vāmarājadeva was probably contracted into Vāmadeva which seems to have been copied in all later records.

When did this Vāmarāja flourish? Though the Saugor inscription states that Śaṅkaragaṇa meditated on his feet it would be rash to assert that he

1. परमभट्टारक–महाराजाधिराज–परमेश्वर–श्रीवामराजदेवपादानुध्यात–परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज–परमेश्वरश्रीशङ्करगणदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये
Rai Bahadur HIRALAL doubtfully read the name of the reigning king as Vāgharāja. (See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second ed. p. 49.) My personal examination of the record *in situ* has convinced me that the name is undoubtedly Vāmarājadeva.

2. *The Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (*Mem. A. S. I.* No. 23), p. 13. Rai Bahadur HIRALAL identified him with Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Kokalla I and placed him in the ninth century A.D. See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Ed.) p. 38.

3. The Saugor inscription is too much defaced to be lithographed; but, as R. B. HIRALAL has remarked its characters are similar to those of the Choti-Deori inscription, for a lithograph of which see CUNNINGHAM'S *ASR.* XXI, plate XXVIII. The forms of *j, d, r,* and *p* in that record show that it is not later than the middle of the eighth century A.D.

4. The name of another Kalacuri king Lakṣmaṇarāja, who also flourished before Kokalla I is found in a recently discovered inscription from Kārītalāī which I am editing in the *EI.*

was his immediate predecessor; for we find the expression *Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyāta* repeated in connection with as many as five other kings. The history of Ḍāhala or modern Baghelkhand after the overthrow of the Ucca-kalpa and Parivrājaka Mahārājas is enveloped in obscurity. Towards the close of the sixth and in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. the Kalacuris were ruling over an extensive empire comprising Malwa, Gujerat, Konkan and Mahārāṣṭra from their capital Māhiṣmatī. After the defeat of Buddharāja by Pulakeśin II they seem to have remained some time in obscurity;[1] for we have no information about the successors of Buddharāja. As the Cālukyas and thereafter the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were supreme in the south from the seventh century onwards, the Kalacuris seem to have turned their attention to the north and established themselves in the Ḍāhala country with the ancient city Tripurī for their capital. Vāmarāja appears to be the founder of this northern Kalacuri power. He may be placed in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. His kingdom was apparently sufficiently large to entitle him to assume the aforementioned paramount titles. As the founder of the northern Kalacuri empire he seems to have been held in great veneration by all his successors who ruled at Tripurī and so we find it stated in almost all subsequent records that they meditated on his feet.

Vāmadeva was not an ancestor of the Candellas. It may, therefore, be asked how his name is mentioned in connection with the Candella prince Trailokyavarman in a record of his feudatory Kumārapālavarman of Kar-kareḍī? The ancestors of Kumārapālavarman were feudatories of the Kala-curis. Two of their records, which have been published, naturally contain the expression *Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta* in connection with the name of their suzerain. The draftsman, who wrote the aforementioned grant of Kumā-rapālavarman has blindly copied the expression from the earlier records of the family and used it to describe the Candella suzerain. It may be noted that he has done the same in regard to the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati* also, which is not met with in the records of the Candellas themselves.

1. They seem to have tried to rehabilitate themselves during the reign of the Cālukya Vinayāditya but the attempt was not attended by success and they were reduced to the same state of servitude as the Āḷuvas, Gangas and others who had already become the hereditary servants of the Cālukyas. *IA.*, VI, 91; VII, 300.

GOD IN DVAITA VEDĀNTA

By

P. NAGARAJA RAO, Madras.

" Sadāgamaika vijñeyam
Samatīta Kṣarākṣaram
Nārāyaṇam sadā vande
Nirdoṣāśeṣasadguṇam "

Visnutattvanirnaya (V.1)

Reality is classified by Śrī Madhva into two distinct categories, the dependent and the independent. Lord Viṣṇu is the independent and central category in Dvaita Vedānta. The God of Dvaita Vedānta is Lord Viṣṇu. God is conceived as a supreme and perfect individual. He is not a mere negation, nor a perfected edition of the human being. He is the abode of infinite number of infinite auspicious attributes. The term Brahman means the perfect individual Śrī Madhva, in his classical and terse commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras. points out conclusively that all the terms used in human and social intercourse primarily connote and denote Lord Viṣṇu. This is the grand harmonisation (*samanvaya*) effected in the first chapter of the Vedānta Sūtras.

The establishment of the central category is not through bare logic. It is the central purport of the scriptures. Madhva does not credit all that is said in the scriptures nor all scriptures as auhoritative. The purportful scripture alone is relied upon.[1] The mere inference is rated as of no use. Following the strict laws of interpretation Madhva has pointed out that the central category referred to in the scriptures is Lord Viṣṇu and not the attributeless Absolute of the Advaitin. The very second sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa characterises the central reality as the creator, sustainer, destroyer, bestower of knowledge, liberator, etc. of the universe. The third sūtra points out that we can cognize this central reality only through the study of the Śāstras. With robust independence of thought. sound logic, and cogent array of quotations in support of his views from the scriptures Śrī Madhva has effected a textual synthesis and has worked out a perfect metaphysical system with Lord Viṣṇu as the central reality.

The Lord is conceived as the efficient cause of the universe and not as its material cause. The conception of the Lord as the material cause would lead us to the absurd conclusion that he is transformed every moment. The Lord is also spoken of as the bestower of Sattā (being) to the souls. By hypothesis he can do anything he wishes. But the scriptures declare that

1. Madhva's *Tattvanirṇaya,* vv. 3 and 4,

he has a law all his own and never deviates from it. He is spoken of as *satya saṅkalpa* (truth bound). He is not a capricious oriental Sultan. He is in possession of the knowledge of the true nature (*svarūpa*) of the souls. Perception of the *svarūpa* of the self is Mokṣa. No soul can hope to have the perception of its true self without the help of this *Grand trustee*, Viṣṇu. The true nature of the soul is only known to the trustee, i.e. God. Constant meditation, uninterrupted devotion and performance of scripture-ordained duties help the soul to get at the true nature of the self through the grace of the Lord. God is not responsible for the difference in the intrinsic nature of souls. God helps us, only in enabling us to have the true vision of our own selves. Just as a trustee is not responsible for the differences in the wealth secured in the different boxes so is Lord Viṣṇu not responsible for the different natures of the souls. God is impartial and is relentlessly disinterested. Realization for the soul is impossible without the worship and the grace of the Lord.

Lord Viṣṇu is different from the universe of souls and matter. The presiding deity for the prakṛti is Lakṣmī (the wife of Lord Viṣṇu). Viṣṇu is other than and superior to the perishing and the imperishing elements in creation. More than once the three-fold nature of reality and the suzerainty of Lord Viṣṇu over the heirarchy of the deities is emphasised by Śrī Madhva with the help of profuse citations from the scriptures. The last five verses of the fifteenth chapter of the Bhagavad Gītā are instanced as the summary of the purport of the scriptures.

The primary significance of every word according to Śrī Madhva is Lord Viṣṇu. Nonsensical as well as articulate sounds are said to signify primarily Lord Viṣṇu. With remarkable skill Madhva in his commentary on the Aitareya Upaniṣad points out that words like 'Mūṣika' and 'Mārjāra' primarily connote Lord Viṣṇu. Only in the secondary sense words denote the respective objects by which they are referred to. Bhakti can only result from the knowledge of the glory of the Lord and his infinitude. Bhakti is not mere knowledge of the Lord. There is a famous definition of Bhakti in the *Nyāyasudhā* which brings out the nature of Lord Viṣṇu and his place in the Dvaita Vedānta. Bhakti is defined as that kind of attachment to the Lord based on a complete understanding of the supremacy of the Lord, which transcends the love of one's own self and possessions and which remains unshaken in death and in difficulty.[1]

The central objection of the Advaitin for the admission of infinite attributes to the Brahman is that the Brahman does not admit of any relation. There is nothing outside the Brahman for the Advaitin. His Brahman is an impartite entity. He is not a knowing entity nor a conscious

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1. Parameśvarabhaktir nāma ; niravadhika ananta anavadya kalyāṇaguṇatvajñāna pūrvakaḥ svātmātmīya samasta vastubhyo 'nekaguṇādhiko'ntarāya-sahasreṇāpyapratibaddha nirantaraprema-pravāhaḥ ".

Jayatīrtha's *Nyāyasudhā*, p. 117.

entity nor an infinite entity. The Brahman is knowledge, is consciousness and is infinitude. Madhva also does not admit any real difference in the attributes of the Lord. He is aware of the force of dialectics and the consequences of the assumption of the entire differences between the attributes of the Lord. The attributes of the Lord are not entirely different but they are still distinguishable by a category called viśeṣa. Viśeṣa is a category abiding in entities where there is no real difference but still it helps to distinguish them.[1] Thus it is possible to distinguish the apparently different attributes of the Lord with the help of this category viśeṣa.

The apparently negative descriptions of the Brahman in the scripture are explained by Madhva by a novel method of interpretation. It is possible to accuse that he has tortured the texts. In fact every Vedāntin is liable to this charge. The definition of god in Dvaita Vedānta supplies genuine solace to the yearning heart. It is a perfect type of theism wherein God is all in all. This conception is very near the Christian idea of God minus Christianity's disbelief in the doctrine of Karma.

The ordinary individuals of this world are born and live amidst forces of which they have very little knowledge. The difficulties and the dangers of life explain the sense of internal conflict in men. The desire to act right is at war with insurgent and unknown appetites and passions. A great unknown need arises which throws us into a mood of acute dejection. At this stage we have a profound sense of sin. Nothing short of an unconquerable faith in an omnipotent good God saves us. It is this faith in a supreme God that accounts for the calm of the mystics. Discords are harmonised, the period of storm and stress ends, for the mystic very well knows that "God is in His Heaven and all is right with the world." The prodigal son returns home and God in His fatherly love says, 'this my son was dead and has become alive again'. It is this central principle that is the saving grace for the imperfect individual. Dvaita Vedānta (to borrow a phrase from the great Churchman of England) is a revolutionary type of idealism which estranges the revolutionary by its idealism and the conservative by a drastic revaluation of his earthly goods.

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1. Cf. Author's article on Madhva's Conception of Definition, *IHQ Winternitz Comm. Vol.* Pt. i, June 1938, pp. 353-60.

THE GENITIVUS PERSONAE WITH VERBS OF EATING (*AD, AŚ, BHUJ*) AND ACCEPTING (*GṚH + PRATI* AND, PERHAPS, *LABH*) IN VEDIC PROSE

By

HANNS OERTEL, München.

1. ChUp. 4.1.1 *sa* (scil. *jānaśrutiḥ pautrāyaṇaḥ*) *ha sarvata āvasathān māpayāṁ cakre* : *sarvata eva me 'tsyantīti.* Śaṅkara glosses : *sarvata eva me mamānnaṁ teṣv āvastheṣu vasanto 'tsyanti bhokṣyante.* BOEHTLINGK emends *sarvata eva me 'tsyanti* to *sarvata eva vatsyanti* 'in dem Gedanken, dass man allerwärts übernachten würde' with the note (p. 101- 8-11) : 'Ś[aṅkara] ergänzt *annam* zu *me*. An der Ellipse habe ich Anstoss genommen, da der Gen. bei *ad* sonst stets der partitive ist. Überdies erschien es mir natürlicher die Herbergen zunächst als Nachtasyle nicht als Verpflegungs anstalten anzusehen.' LÜDERS, *Sitz. Ber. Kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.* 1916 (X), p. 282 rightly rejects BOEHTLINGK's emendation.

It is true that with the root *ad* the genitive of the person whose food is eaten is found nowhere else in Vedic prose. Everywhere else with the root *ad* the genitive of the person depends on the expressed object accusative *annam,* thus AB. 8.24.2 ; GB. 1.3.19 (89,5 ed. GAASTRA) ; PB. 181.11 ; 12 ; TS. 2.2.6. 2 ; 2.3.7.4 ; 2.5.1.6 ; TB. 1.4.3.2 ; MS. 1.8.8 (127, 5) ; 2.1.3 (4, 4) ; 2.3.7 (34, 19, and 21) ; 3.6.7 (69, 13 and 18) ; K. 8.11 (95, 9) = Kap. 7.8 (79, 9) ; K. 10.5 (129, 13) ; K. 12.5 (167, 22 and 23 ; 167, 23—168, 1 ; 168, 1-2 and 2) ; K. 12.7 (169, 20) ; K. 23.2 (75, 10) = Kap. 35.8 (184, 19) ; K. 23.6 (81, 10 ; 11-12 ; 12 ; 14 and 16). Instead of the genitival construction *dīkṣitasyānnam* we have the compound *dīkṣitānnam* at K. 23.9 (85, 20) = Kap. 36.6 (193, 10) *dīkṣitānnam. . .adanti.* The suppletive root *jakṣ* (cf. DELBRÜCK, *Altind. Syntax* § 160, p. 274, 12-14 ; WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* ii, 1 § 5, b, Anm., p. 16, 20 ; RENOU, *Gr. Sansk.* §280, p. 399, 29-30) likewise has the object accusative *annam* with the genitive of the person at TS. 2.2.6.2 *vidviṣāṇayor annam jagdhvā* parallel to *yo vidviṣāṇayor annam atti.*

NOTE. The partitive genitive is found (*a*) with *ad* JB. 3.200 (CALAND, Auswahl § 198, p. 270, 38) *na vai devā ahutasyādanti;* (*b*) with *aś* AB. 2.3. 11 ; 12 ; 2.8.6 ; KB. 7.3 (29, 20 and 21 ed. LINDNER) ; 10.3 (46, 9 and 10-11) ; TS. 1.6.7.3 ; 2.5.1.4 ; 5 ; 5.2.5.6 ; 5.7.6.1 ; 6.1.11.6 (bis) ; 6.5.11.4 ; TB. 1. 3.8.2 ; 1.6.1.9 ; 1.6.6.4 ; 1.6.7.1 (bis) ; 3.2.5.7 ; 3.7.3.2 (ter) ; ŚB. 1.2.3.9 (Kāṇva 2.2.1.2.) · 2.3.1.11 ; 12 (Kāṇva 1.3.1.6. ; 7) ; 3.1.2.21 (ter) ; 3.6.3.21; 5.2.2.4 ; 7.2.4.14 ; 7.5.2.37 ; 9.3.4.4 ; 10.1.4.13 (bis) ; 11.1.7.3 ; MS. 1.4.10 (58, 17 [bis] and 19 [bis]) ; 2.1.6 (8, 3[bis]) ; 3.2.5. (21, 16) ; 3.4.8 (56, 10) ; 3.7.8 (87, 15) ; 4.1.6 (8, 5) ; 4.3.2 (41, 18) ; K. 11.5 (150, 20) ; 11.6 (151, 8) ; 11.10 (158, 9) ; 12.7 (169, 21 and 22) ; K. 23. 9 (86, 2) = Kap.

36.6 (193, 12) ; K. 24.7 (97, 16 ; 17 and 18) = Kap. 37. 8 (202, 17 ; 18 and 19) ; K. 25.4 (107, 1) = Kap. 39.1 (212, 18) ; K. 29.1 (167, 7) = Kap. 45.2 (268, 2) ; K. 29.8 (178, 4) ; 32.7 (26, 7 ; 9 and 10) ; (*c*) with *aś+pra* AB. 2.23.6 ; 7 ; ŚB. 2.6.1.33 (Kāṇva 1.6.1.22) ; K. 29.1 (167, 3) = Kap. 45.2 (267, 17) ; (*d*) with *bhakṣ* KB. 13.6 (59, 23-24) ; AB. 1.22.10 ; TS. 6.6.3.5 (cf. ĀpŚS. 13.20.11) ; ŚB. 1.1.3.7 (Kāṇva 2.1.3 5) ; 4.4.3.11 ; PB. 9.9.10 ; (*e*) with *jakṣ* TB. 2.1.1.2.

2. But with the synonymous root *aś* 'eat' the two constructions (*a*) with the object accusatives *annam, aśanam* and the genitivus personae, and (*b*) with the simple genitivus personae without object accusative are pretty evenly balanced, thus

(*a*) AV. 9.6.24 (prose) *na dviṣato 'nnam aśnīyān na mīmāṅsitasya na mīmāṅsamānasya ;* 25 *yasyānnam aśnanti ;* 26 *yasyānnaṁ nāśnanti ;* PB. 11. 8.10 ; 14. 3.12 *ayāsyo vā āṅgirasa ādityānāṁ dīkṣitānām annam āśnat ;* KB. 7.3 (29, 19) *kasmād dīkṣitasyāśanaṁ nāśnanti ;* ŚB. 4.6.5.4 *yāvanto no 'śanam aśnanti ;* JB. 1.223 (CALAND § 83, p. 86, 8 from bottom) = 3.250 (CALAND § 206, p. 287, 10 from bottom) *anāśyānnasyānnam aśitvā ;* JB. 2.135 (CALAND § 140, p. 168, 10-9 from bottom) *yo 'nāśyānnasyānnam aśnāti* ; JB. 2.83 (CALAND § 130, p. 145, 6 from bottom) *yad vā vidviṣāṇānāṁ aśanam āśa* (cf. TS. 2.2.6.2 *vidviṣāṇayor annam atti* and *jagdhvā* ; KŚS. 25.8.16 *pratigṛhya vidviṣāṇayoḥ*). Similarly, with the object accusative *haviḥ* AB. 7.11.1 ; KB. 3.1 (8, 17-18) *na ha vā avratasya devā havir aśnanti* ; *uta me devā havir aśnīyuḥ* ; KB. 3.2 (9,17) *na ha vā anārṣeyasya devā havir aśnanti.*

(*b*) AB. 2.9.6 *na dīkṣitasyāśnīyāt* (Sāyaṇa's commentary : *dīkṣitasya gṛhe nāśnīyāt ;* this passage is referred to by WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* ix, 247 and by LÜDERS, *Sitz. Ber. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.* 1916. [X], p. 282) ; ŚB. 3.6.3.21 *tasmād dīkṣitasya nāśnīyāt,. . ., tasmād asyātrāśnanti ;* KB. 2.8 (7, 12) *yasyo ha vā api devāḥ sakṛd aśnanti* ; JUB. 1.57.1 *tasmād u gāyatāṁ nāśnīyāt* (cf. TB. 1.3.2.7 *tasmād gāyataś ca mattasya ca na pratigṛhyam*). The Sūtras have the same construction with the root *bhuj* : KŚS. 25.8.16 *patitasya bhuktvā* (WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* ix, 247) ; Āp. Dh. S. 1.18.9 *trayāṇāṁ varṇānām. . .na bhoktavyam* (RENOU, *Gr. Sk.* § 222, F. [in fine], p. 308), and so also Manu 2.207 *mattakrudhāturāṇām ca na bhuñjīta kadā cana* (SPEYER, *Ved. und Sk. Syntax* § 64, p. 18).

3. If the genitivus personae with verbs of eating is to be explained at all by the assumption of an ellipsis it would be simplest to suggest an ellipsis of the object accusatives *annam, aśanam.* This would be supported by the twofold construction of root *aś*, viz. with the object accusatives *annam, aśanam* cum genitivo personae and with the simple genitivus personae (cf. above § 2, *a* and *b*). Very similar are the constructions (*a*) of the root *vadh* with the object accusative *vācam* cum genitivo personae and *vadh* + *prati* with simple genitive of the person : AB. 6.33.4 *yo me vācam avadhīḥ* but AB. 7.28.1, JB. 2.134 (*JAOS.* 19, p. 121, 15) *bṛhaspateḥ pratyavadhīt* (Sāyaṇa's commentary glosses AB. 7.28.1 with *svaguror bṛhaspater vākyaṁ svakīyena vākyena*

pratyavadhīt) and (*b*) of the root *vad* with the object accusative *bhāgam* cum dativo s. genitivo personae and *vad* with the simple dative of the person : TS. 2.5.1.1 *sa pratyakṣaṁ devebhyo bhāgam avadat parokṣam asurebhyaḥ, . . ., sarvasmai vai pratyakṣaṁ bhāgaṁ vadanti, yasmā eva parokṣaṁ vadanti tasya bhāga uditaḥ* but JB. 2.153.3-4 (*Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* XV, 1909, p. 180) *sa ha sma pratyakṣaṁ devebhyo vadati parokṣam asurebhyo, yasmā u ha vai bhūyaḥ kāmayate tasmai parokṣaṁ vadati, . . ., sa pratyakṣam asmabhyaṁ vadati parokṣam asurebhyaḥ.*

LÜDERS (*Sitz. Ber. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.* 1916 [X], p. 282, 34), following Sāyaṇa's gloss on AB. 2.9.6, assumes on ellipsis of *gṛhe* : '*aś* und *ad* mit dem Genitiv einer Person heissen also "in jemandes Hause, bei jemandem essen" ' and so also RENOU, *Gr. Sk.* § 222, F (in fine), p. 308 who renders *trayāṇāṁ varṇānām* ĀpDhS. 1.18.9 by '(il) ne doit pas prendre de repas (chez ceux) des trois (premières) castes', with a reference to LÜDERS. In support of an assumption of an ellipsis of *gṛhe* the following passages might be quoted : MS. 1.8.8 (127, 7) *gṛhe tu tasya tataḥ paro nāśnīyāt* ; K. 8.12 (96, 8-9) -Kap 7.7 (78, 15-16) *gṛhe* (thus v. SCHROEDER's text of K. with the mss. T. 1, Brl., and D. ; Ch. has *gṛhī*, St. *gṛhān* ; for Kap. *gṛhe* RAGHU VIRA gives no var. lect.) *tv* (the Kap. ms. *nv*) *asya tato nāśnīyāt* ; ĀpŚS. 5.14.2 *gṛhe tv asya tato nāśnīyat* (Rudradatta glosses : *asya bahupuṣṭasya gṛhe tataḥ paraṁ nāśnīyād yajamānaḥ* ; CALAND : 'Er esse jedoch nachher nichts aus dessen Wohnung').

4. WEBER, whose extensive and accurate knowledge of the Vedic texts has never been surpassed, *Ind. Stud.* ix, 247, called in this connexion attention to a parallel construction of the root *gṛh*+*prati* 'to accept as a present' with the genitive of the person but without object accusative. He quotes the following examples to which I have added those from MS and JB. which were inaccessible to him : ŚB. 14.6.10.3 (=BĀUp. 4.1.3) *apratigṛhyasya pratigṛhṇāti* (Śaṅkara glosses *apratigṛhyasya* by *ugrādeḥ*, cf. Manu 4.212 *ugrānnam* [scil. *na bhuñjīta*] ; for *apratigṛhya* 'one from whom nothing should be accepted' cf. ŚB. 11.1.6.35 *anapodhārya* 'something of which nothing should be omitted' ; TS. 2.8.1.5 *anaparudhya* 'something from which one may not be driven away', *Syntax of Cases* I § 60, Ex. 115, Rem. p. 222, 30-37) ; TB. 1.3.2.7 *tasmād gāyataś ca mattasya ca na pratigṛhyam* (the commentary supplies *dhanam* ; cf. JUB. 1.57. 1 *tasmād u gāyatāṁ nāśnīyāt*) ; K. 14. 5 (205, 1-2) *yo gāthānārāśaṅsībhyāṁ* (for *gāthānārāṅsī* cf. WEBER, *ZDMG.* xv. 126 ; *Ind. Stud.* x 53 ; Manilal PATEL, *Die Dānastutis des Rigveda* [Marburg dissertation] 1929, p. 69-70) *sanoti tasya na pratigṛhyam, . . . mattasya na pratigṛhyaṁ* (cf. the Vedic quotation at Kāśikā on Pāṇ. 3.1.118 *mattasya na pratigṛhyam*) ; MS. 1.11.5 (167, 8-9) *yo gāthānārāśaṅsībhyāṁ sanoti na tasya pratigṛhyam . . . na mattasya* ; JB. 1.223 (CALAND § 83, p. 86, 3 from bottom) =3.250 (CALAND § 206, p. 287, 10 from bottom) *sa* (3.250 omits *sa*) *yo garagīr manyetāpratigṛhyasya pratigṛhyānāśyānnam aśitvā* (cf. PB. 19.4.10 *yad eva bahu pratigṛhṇāti yad garaṁ girati yad anannam atti.* CALAND translates the JB. passage : 'Wer

sich vergiftet meint, weil er [etwas] entgegengenommen hat von jemandem, von welchem man nicht entgegennehmen darf, weil er Speise von jemandem gegessen hat, dessen Speise man nicht essen darf', and so also in his note to PB. 19.4.10 'having received a gift from a person from whom he ought not to accept a gift, having eaten food from one whose food he should not eat', but in the note to PB. 9.2.16 'having eaten food from one from whom no gift may be accepted, from one whose food may not be eaten' plainly a simple lapsus calami).

From the Sūtras WEBER adds KŚS. 25.8.16 *pratigṛhya vidviṣāṇayoḥ* (cf. TS. 2.2.6.2 *vidviṣāṇayor annam atti*; *vidviṣāṇayor annaṁ jagdhvā*; JB. 2.83 [CALAND § 130, p. 145, 6 from bottom] *vidviṣāṇānām aśanam āśa*).

There are no instances in which the root *gṛh* + *prati* is construed with the object accusative *annam, aśanam* or with *gṛhe* c. genitivo personae or with *dhanam* which the commentary to TB. 1.3.2.7 supplies. With an object accusative of a word meaning 'food' it occurs KB. 25.15 (119, 19) *aphālakṛṣṭāṁś ca pratigṛhṇan* and KB. 6.14 (27, 10-11) *athainat* (scil. *prāśitram*) *pratigṛhṇāti* cf. TS. 2.6.8.7 *prāśitraṁ prāśnāti*). The instances where the root *gṛh* + *prati* takes an object accusative with adnominal genitivus personae are: ŚB. 10.5.5.2; 4 *na* (4 *naiva*) *te haviḥ pratigrahīṣyati*; KB. 2.8 (6, 23 and 7, 4-5) *tasyai* (scil. *yajamānasya*) *'tāṁ devāḥ satyahutasyāhutiṁ pratigṛhṇanti*; KB. 2.8 (7, 12) *prati haivāsyaite āhutī devā gṛhṇanti*; KB. 2.7 (6, 5) *kathaṁ nv imān vayam ānandān asmādṛśasyaiva* (WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr. iii.* § 218, b, p. 436, 17 where TB. is a misprint for KB) *pratigṛhṇīyāma*. At TS. 7.2.10.4 *so 'pi ha vā asya śīrṣaṇyā niṣpadaḥ pratigṛhṇāti yo dvādaśāhe pratigṛhṇāti* the object accusative *dakṣiṇāḥ* must be supplied in the relative clause (CALAND on ĀpŚS. 21.1.5 'Wer beim Dvādaśāha Dakṣiṇās entgegennimmt, empfängt, was von seinem [des Gebers] Haupt herabfällt').

Thus the support for explaining the genitivus personae with the root *gṛh* + *prati* as due to an ellipsis is rather weak.

5. The partitive genitivus rei with the root *labh* is well attested. It is found in the Mantras K. 9.7 (118, 9); ĀpŚS. 8.18.4 *bhagas* (ĀpŚS. *bhaga*) *stha, bhagasya vo lapsīya* 'ich möchte des Glückes teilhaftig werden' (CALAND); Kap. 8.10 (87, 23); MŚS. 1.7.7.8 *bhago 'si, bhagasya lapsīya*. In prose it occurs TB. 1.6.10.5 *utkiranti, bhagasya līpsante* 'sie werfen (die Kuchen) in die Höhe, (indem sie diese wiederauffangen) suchen sie das Glück zu ergreifen' (CALAND on ĀpŚS. 8. 18. 42; and cf. MS. 1.10.20 [160, 12] *tān ūrdhvān udasya pratilabhante, bhagam eva pratilabhante*; K. 36.14 (81, 10) *tān udasya pratilabhante 'nṛṇā eva bhūtvā bhagaṁ pratilabhante*); ChUp. 1.10.6 *yad batānnasya labhemahi* 'alas, if I could only obtain some food' (Śaṅkara glosses: *annasyālpaṁ labhemahi*); AB. 2.3.12 *tasmāt tasyā* (scil. *paśoḥ*) *'śitavyaṁ caiva līpsitavyaṁ ca*; ĀpŚS. 1.11.2 *nāsyaitāṁ rātriṁ kumārāś cana payaso labhante* (RENOU, *Gr. Sk.* § 222, B. a, p. 304, 7; Rudradatta glosses: *asyāṁ rātryām asya Kumārā api payasa ekadeśaṁ na labhante*; CALAND 'an diesem Tage bekommen seine Kinder gar keine Milch').

Similarly a partitive genitivus rei with the root *āp* K. 36. 10 (77, 5) = MS. 1.10.16 (155, 16) *te 'syāptvā vyanayan* (*Sitz. Ber. bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Jahrgang 1934, Heft 6, p. 48, Anm. 1)

Whether the root *labh* is ever construed with a genitivus personae is a question which depends on the interpretation of *vimāthyasya* in the following passage. JB. 2.299 (CALAND § 156, p. 200, 4 from bottom—p. 201, 1) *tena haitena maruto yata indrāgnī īkṣāṁ cakrāte : ime ced vā idaṁ samāpayantī, maruta evedaṁ sarvaṁ bhavantīti, tān ha* (ms. *tān sa ha*) *sattrapariveṣaṇaṁ sahasraṁ jigyatus, tad dhaiṣāṁ vimāthīcakrire* (the ms. according to CALAND *vimaśīcakrire*, according to WHITNEY'S transcript *vimaśīcakrire*), *pāpmānaṁ ha vā eṣāṁ tad vimethire, tasmād u ha vimāthyasya na lipseta : net pāpmano 'pabhajā iti.* CALAND translates : ' Als die Maruts (einst) mit diesem (Opfer) beschäftigt waren, überlegten Indra und Agni über sie : " Wenn sie dies Zu Ende führen, so werden die Maruts alle Macht bekommen." Als Sieger entwendeten sie diesen (Maruts) eine Tausendzahl (von Kühen) : die Zurüstung ihres Sattra. Da erschlugen sie (die Maruts) deren (Tausendzahl ?) ; dadurch erschlugen sie deren Missgeschick. Deshalb soll man von einem, der zerschlagem werden soll, nicht(s) zu erlangen suchen, damit man nicht Anteil an seinem Missgeschick bekomme.' For notes on this passages see the note.[1]

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[1] (*a*) For *sattrapariveṣaṇa* CALAND refers to AB. 5.14.4 *teṣāṁ yat sahasraṁ sattrapariveṣaṇam tat te svar yanto dāsyanti* (and cf. 5 *atha yad vā etat sahasraṁ sattrapariveṣaṇaṁ tan me svar yanto datta*).

(*b*) For the construction of the root *jya* (*jī*) with accusativus rei et personae CALAND refers to JB. 2.249 (CALAND § 149, p. 187, 10 and 8 from bottom) *indro vai marutah samajinot svāṁ viśaṁ somāya rājñe pratiprocya, . , tad yamo 'nvabudhyata : sahasram ajyāsistām iti.* Cf. further, with the two accusatives in the same clause, PB. 21.1.1 *indro marutah sahasram ajināt svāṁ viśaṁ somāya rājñe procya, . ., tau yamo 'śrnon : maruto ha sahasram ajyāsistām* (the Bibl. Ind. reads in both text and commentary the impossible *ijyāsṛṣṭām*) ; DELBRÜCK, *Altind. Synt.* § 122, p. 180, 7 from bottom.

JB. *ajinot* according to the *nu*-class is supported by *jinvanti* in the clause omitted above : *tadanu-kṛtīdam apy etarhi rājñe pratiprocya viśaṁ jinvanti* (but PB. *tasmād rājñe procya viśaṁ jinanti*) ; but JB. 2. 196 and 197 have the optative *jinīyāt* according to the *nā*-class (*Journal Vedic Studies* i, No. 2 [1934], p. 27). Similar variations between *nu*-class and *nā*-class JB. 3.310 *asinot* but JB. 3.82 *vyavasināti* ; JB. 1.204 and 205 *spṛnoti* but JUB. 4.9.9 ; 4.10.1-8 *spṛṇāti* (Journal *Vedic Studies* ii, No. 2 [1935] pp. 95 and 107).

(*c*) *vimāthīcakrire* cf. ĀpŚS. 19.7.8 *vimāthīkṛtya* and TB. 1.3.8.4. *vimāthaṁ kurvate*. ŚŚS. 13.3.4 has a noun *vimathitṛ* (*vimathitārah* with short *a* and short *i*).

The root *math+vi* is frequent with objects like *yajñam* AB. 1.18.1 ; GB. 2.2.6 ; MS. 4.8.9 (118, 12) ; K. 25.2 (103, 18) ; Kap. 38.5 (209, 7 where *mā=yajñam*) ; *havyam* MS. 1.10.10 (150, 8) ; K. 36.5 (72, 3-4) ; *havīṁṣi* KB. 28.2 (134, 16 where M. reads *vimathnate*, the other Mss and LINDNER'S text *vibadhnate* ; *paśum* MS. 4.8.9 (118, 12 and 15) ; TS 3.1.3.2 ; AB. 7.1.5. CALAND ĀpŚS. 18.7.8 renders it by 'sie balgten sich darüber' (and see his note to this passage), ' they tore it to pieces, pulling it hither and thither in wrestling for its possession.'

For *math+vi* with *pāpmānam* cf. ŚB. 2.5.224 (Kāṇva 1.5.1.22) *tad dhāsāṁ* (Kāṇva *tad āsām*) *marutaḥ pāpmānam vimethire ; tatho evaitasya* (Kāṇva *tato*

vā estasya) *prajānāṁ marutah pāpmānaṁ vimathnate;* 26 (Kāṇva 24) *yatra vai* (Kāṇva *yatra ha vai tat*) *prajāpateh prajānāṁ marutaḥ pāpmānaṁ vimethire.*

(*d*) For *net pāpmano 'pabhajā iti* cf. JB. 3.72 (CALAND on PB. 8.1.10) *nec chuco 'pabhajā iti*; PB. 8.1.11 *ya eṣām āśām eti tasmā eva śuco 'pabhajate.*

Since the gerundive of the root *math* is either *mathya* (ŚB. 12.4.3.3. *ulmuka-mathya*) or *manthya* (TS. 6.3.5.2) *vimāthya* appears to be a secondary derivative of the noun *vimātha* (ŚB. 3.8.3.36; TB. 1.3.8.4) 'something or someone connected with a struggle.' The sentence *tasmād u ha vimāthyasya na lipseta* could then be rendered either by 'therefore one should not desire to take anything from (a person) who has been involved in a struggle', or by 'therefore one should not desire to take anything about which there has been a struggle.' The second interpretation would make *vimāthyasya* a partitive genitivus rei of which other instances are given at the beginning of this paragraph.

THE RISE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

VITTORE PISANI, Rome.

The most noteworthy event for Indology in the last decades has surely been the beginning of the great critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, a work performed with the largest means, with highly praiseworthy diligence and critical discernment ; that part of it which has already been published lets one hope that in a short time this want of our branch of knowledge, a critical edition of the greatest Indian literary monument, will be fulfilled in such a manner as to satisfy the rightful wishes of students.

It is superfluous to show here how greatly the Indological research in general, and particularly the *Mahābhārata* research, will profit by this huge work ; I shall content myself with pointing out to a thing of the greatest importance which surely has been evident to everybody who has looked through some hundreds of pages of the new Poona edition, viz., that the *Mahābhārata* in its new aspect acquires a thoroughly different appearence from that which we used to know down to this time ; thanks to a strictly philological criticism,—i.e. a criticism based only on the comparison with the various traditions and with the manuscripts which represent them and not on the personal taste of the editor,—it has been possible to eliminate most of all those lengthy tirades, repetitions, contradictions that disturbed so much the readers of the common editions in which not only these vices resulting from the tradition taken as fundamental were not eliminated, but the comparison with other traditions served only to take from them new materials to amalgamate by all means with the already existing ones, producing *ad infinitum* the process of sincretism and contamination which for centuries has taken place in the different manuscripts and traditions.

In such a way the *Mahābhārata* loses that appearance of *rudis indigestaque moles*, of a collection, often made at random out of heterogeneous materials, and, free from the incrustations which disfigured it, appears before us as a work which can be read continuously ; as a work in which the reader familiar with Indian conceptions is not obliged to seek anxiously the *margarita in sterquilino* like the *pullas gallinaceus* of Phædrus, but can give himself up to the spell of travelling through that world of changeable and phantastic forms, yielding to the allurements of the solemn and reposing epic language stretching itself out in the peaceful stream of the *śloka* or rising to the greater gravity of the *triṣṭubh* or taking a taint of archaic simplicity in the prose sections ; and even if he is reminded from time to time that *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*, he will be conscious that he stays before the creation of o n e mind, not before a fortuitous mixing up

of heterogeneous elements. Brought back—as far as we are permitted by the conditions of our tradition in which we must expect *a priori* that irreparable corruptions have set in—to its original aspect, the *Mahābhārata* appears to us nowadays also in its single parts what to passionless readers it should have appeared at least in its completeness already in the old editions : the conscious work of a poet, not the result of a pure accident.

I know that this opinion of mine will arouse in the majority of my readers a feeling of incredulity ; so much has the contrary opinion taken root, owing to handbooks and other works written by celebrated scholars : an opinion which bears in itself the heavy heritage of two mental standpoints now surpassed, the illuministic aesthetics and what I call the surgical criticism. The illuministic aesthetics had established certain literary categories—epics, tragedy, comedy, lyrics, etc.—and the characters inherent in every category and in general in the literary productions and, not caring to place the artistical work in its special and temporal milieu, sure of the excellency of its own definitions, judged and decided, according to the fact that the work either fitted or not to its bed of Procrustes. If the work that was being examined raised too high, for the evident beauties contained in it or for the unanimous verdict of centuries, above the condemnation decreed by canonists of taste, either its single beauties were established, and a note of compassion was pronounced on the roughness of the times in which such a work had been made, a roughness which was the cause of the incongruities with the illuministic canon ; or it was recast, as was done in Italy by Melchior CESAROTTI who, after having translated the *Iliad*, "improved" it in a poem entitled "The Death of Hector", in which by modifying some episodes, eliminating other ones, introducing still others and removing all assumed faults of the work, with a final touch of eighteenth-century powder he thought of having improved on Homer, by delivering him from every contradiction with the taste of the "siècle de lumières".

The "surgical" criticism is a development of this Cesarottian proceeding, and it has had many possibilities of application in classical philology. Every good-hearted critic, for a great part of the XIX century, approached his text provided with bistouri and scissors ; accusing no more the author, as the aesthetes of the eighteenth century did, but the tradition, he cut out or shortened here and there, changed place to something, re-sewed all, and the text issued from his hands had only a slight resemblance with the vulgate one or with the text issued from the hands of a colleague of his : for naturally everybody worked according to his own judgment, and the sole thing in which critics agreed together was that one must see everywhere interpolations, *pseudoepigrapha* and so on ; which were these buboes and these false limbs it was left to decide to personal taste. I must add that I don't mean to do here an apology of the vulgate texts, and that a cautious criticism of the text made o n t h e s u p p o r t o f t r a d i t i o n finds with me its most strenuous defender, as everybody can infer from the praise which I have spent on the critical edition of *Mahābhārata*.

The study of *Mahābhārata* has been inaugurated at a time when the surgical criticism flourished, the legitimate son of illuministic aesthetics, not contaminated, but at most hardly touched by the new romantic aesthetics. Every indologist who approached the great Epic —and they were not many —thought he had the duty of taking in his hands bistouri and scissors, and, to tell the truth, he was invited to do so also by the insipid and repellent aspect won by the poem owing to the cares of the preceeding editors. It was also the time when LACHMANN, and after him a crowd of *minores*, played at sectioning Homer in more or less large parts, in rhapsodies which should have been put together only exteriorly by poor dabblers, or in "Uriliaden" and "Urodysseen" enlarged and interpolated by later "redactors". As the *Mahābhārata* reached in Europe such a milieu and as occidental critics had to show their undiscussed superiority on the naive faith of the "believing Hindoos" who lived in the illusion of seeing in the poem the work of Vyāsa—what had such critics to do better than employ *in corpore vili* the canons of Homeric criticism? The question, whether the Hindoos were right in their faith, was not at all asked for. A school saw in our *Mahābhārata* the result of many successive redactions of an original poem; and this hypothesis, by HOLTZMANN the elder after whom came LASSEN, v. SCHRÖDER, HOLTZMANN Jr. and J. J. MEYER, had at least the merit of considering the fundamental unity which appears in our *Mahābhārata*, and of being *a priori* possible. But against it are numberless difficulties and above all the constructions of its supporters have no fundament in the data offered by the tradition, and therefore nobody thinks nowadays—so far I know—of resuscitating it. The approvals on the contrary assemble on another school, whose most authoritative representatives are HOPKINS and WINTERNITZ; its followers analyse the poem, presume to recognize in it original and additional parts, discern in it the product of the aggregation during many centuries of various elements, but forget to tell us how from this aggregation, which lets us think of Democrit's atomic theory, issued our *Mahābhārata*, where it is not difficult to note a fundamental order, a unity of character, of aims, of ideas, which caused LUDWIG—a follower of course of the atomic theory—to wonder "how, notwithstanding the great complication of mechanism, this is directed in a manner relatively so exact, that contradictions, rather than still existing, are to be found in some traces"[1].

I have already pointed out to both sources of *Mahābhārata* criticism such as has been practised down to this time, with only few exceptions: illuministic aesthetics and surgical criticism. Now, the followers of the atomic theory show clearly that their points of departure are really these two *maculæ originales*. Let us hear WINTERNITZ[2]: "For us, who consider

1. LUDWIG, *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Böhmischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1896, p. 31, quoted by DAHLMANN, *Genesis des Mahābhārata*, p. 112

2. *Indische Litteraturgeschichte*, I, p. 272.

it not as believing Hindoos but as historians of literature critically oriented, the *Mahābhārata* is all but an artistical work; and in no case we can see in it the work of one author, nay of an able collector and orderer. *Mahābhārata* in its totality is a literary monster. Never the hand of an artist has tried to assemble in a unitary poem the contradictory elements. Only theologians without poesy and unfit commentators and amanuenses have put together in an unordered mass the parts materially repugnant and originating from different centuries". As one can infer from many other expressions of WINTERNITZ and from HOPKINS' criticism, the repugnance of the various parts of *Mahābhārata* is seen above all in the fact that together with prevalently narrative sections we find others of a didactic or religious character, etc. Western critics have tried to measure the *Mahābhārata* with the epic foot borrowed from literates who took their rules from the study of Western poems, and when they saw that measures did not correspond they decided that the *Mahābhārata* is not contained in the sacred canons of literature and is therefore a literary monster. Exactly in this spirit, but with better taste, an eighteenth-century French said of Ariosto, whose poem is certainly less unitary than the *Mahābhārata* and contains, although in immensely less quantity, moral sentences, cosmographies, genealogies etc.: "il a trouvé le secret de faire un monstre admirable". I don't know what WINTERNITZ would have said of Dante, whose greatest poem is for a good half a religious, philosophical and political treatise; or of the *Miserables* by Victor Hugo, with their mass of wonderful and absurd matter, of tales and considerations of every kind, with their immense digressions in which the reader is in danger to drown as Jean Valjean in the Paris sewers. May be, if the *Miserables* had been written in Sanskrit and their author had submerged in the legend which surrounds Vyāsa, WINTERNITZ wouldn't have written on them very different words from those which he uses against the supporters of the unitary origin of the poem[1]: "He who might believe, with the orthodox Hindoos or with DAHLMANN, that our *Mahābhārata* is the work of one man, should assume that this man was at the same time a great poet and a poor patcher, a sage and a weakhead, a genial artist and a ridiculous pedant, not to say that this extraordinary man should have known and professed the most opposite religious opinions and the most repugnant philosophical creeds". I must add that such a judgment, if it would be excessive for the *Miserables*, is still more excessive with relation to the *Mahābhārata*.

This should be said for the first *macula originalis*. As to the second one, our critics, occupied by their *furor chirurgicus*, have thought only of individuating old and younger parts, of remarking presumed contradictions, of looking for traces which might have been left in the poem by special categories of bards, priests and so on: doubtless a very useful work, as useful as that done with regard to the Homeric poems by the atomic critics of the last century. But, in such a fervent research, they have looked for the

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 392 f.

elements that possibly have flown into the *Mahābhārata* and have not seen what was a reality not to be suppressed with aesthetic sophisms, the *Mahābhārata* given us by Indian tradition; they have given the history of the materials and have thought that they were giving the history of the poem, as one that could delude himself that he is writing the history of *Orlendo Furioso* when writing on the origin of the stories contained in it; they have considered the trees and have not noticed that there was the forest.

For such a forest exists, and it is a stupendous one. It suffices to approach our *Mahābhārata* with open eyes, but also with the mind used to Indian thought and without being eager to strike right and left with the bistouri, to recognize in it a fundamental design that keeps its limbs organically united. Who has told Western critics that the didactic parts have been added (nobody says in what matter) to the epic ones? May be they think that a poem cannot rise as epic and didactic at the same time, and the work of a patcher is needed to introduce the didactic element into the narrative one of primeval epos? But these are apriorisms without any support. Nobody can impose limits on a creating spirit, and still less Western norms, more or less justified, on an Indian poet. And then--how can our critics assert that the author of the *Mahābhārata* should have purposed to pursue only aesthetical aims? Has Dante pursued only aesthetical aims? Or have not a great deal of Indian poets tried to *miscere utile dulci*—even the authors of *Kāvya*? It is therefore necessary in our estimate of the *Mahābhārata* to take the poem such as it is, and not as it ought to be according to the taste of this or that critic. If we examine the poem in such a spirit, we cannot but admire the way in which didactic and *aupākhyānic* matter has been distributed in the main story.

It is natural that the greatest mass of it should fill the great temporal hiatuses, that is the twelve years of banishment in the forest and the interval which runs between the end of the battle and the last adventures of the Pāṇḍuids; in the second period the need of putting the doctrines about royal *nīti* in the mouth of the last great representative of the old *kṣatriya* lineage, of the dying Bhīṣma, has caused its collocation before the occupation of the kingdom by Yudhiṣṭhira. This distribution to fill up temporal hiatuses has not only the scope of not disturbing the course of narration, but also that of helping the reader to pass over irrelevant years without striking against too strong a contrast between periods minutely narrated and others rapidly surpassed. In a not different manner Homer introduces often dialogues and episodic stories when he must conceal the flowing of times without noteworthy events.

But also the single didactic and narrative episodes are distributed according to a plan doubtlessly established before hand: let me only hint to the way in which the discussion on the greatest religious and moral problems is inserted in the consultation which the Pāṇḍuids have in the Dvaitāvana, to the story of Vidulā put in the mouth of Kuntī who incites Yudhiṣṭhira to act, to the conversation of Aśvatthāman and Kṛpa in the *Sauptika Parvan*,

even to short episodes as the political teachings of Kaṇika to Dhṛtarāṣṭra who wants to protect himself against the beginning might of his nephews.

And—what shall one say about *Bhagavadgītā*? Its necessary place is at the beginning of the fratricide battle, because especially for this, and secondarily also for the other events narrated, it gives us the explication and the resolution in a higher unity of the formidable moral contrasts. The critics who wonder at the faults of the Pāṇḍuids and at the immoral teachings of Kṛṣṇa, and construct on them more or less phantastic theories, might limit themselves to think that the *Bhagavadgītā* is an indissoluble part of the poem and seek in it for an answer to their doubts, instead of playing at count the verses of the *Bhagavadgītā* to see whether it is possible that so long a dialogue might enter in the short lapse of time assigned to it.

With faultless intuition Sylvain LÉVI[1] saw in the *Bhagavadgītā*, considered as the enunciation of principles that appear again in the whole *Mahābhārata*, fifth Veda destined to the *Kṣatriyas* whom it teaches warrior life and the practice of reign, the heart and the kernel of the poem. WINTERNITZ[2] endeavours to ridicule LÉVI, calling him "DAHLMANN redivivus", and writes: "If one sees the kernel of the *Mahābhārata* in the *Bhagavadgītā*, in the *Nārāyaṇīya* and in the *Harivaṃśa*, such an opinion can be justified; if on the contrary, as I believe, the kernel of the epos must be seen in the heroic poem of the great war between Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, LÉVI's opinion is as unsustainable as DAHLMANN's one". Here WINTERNITZ, made a prisoner by his own theory on the origin of the poem, has not understood in its right value the expression "Kernel of the poem" used by Sylvain LÉVI; LÉVI wanted to say that the *Bhagavadgītā* constitutes the ideal centre of the *Mahābhārata*, inasmuch as it contains the principles which animate the whole poem, expressed in the most efficacious form and put together in a system; WINTERNITZ, involuntarily, turned with his mind to the images of the atomic theory, and he imagined a process opposite to the one viewed by this theory, of an epic kernel around which the various elements constitutive of the poem should have assembled. Naturally, how much this process is absurd, so much should be that of epic and other elements accumulating around some didactic epyllia. What evidently LÉVI, meant and to which I subscribe without hesitation, is that the poet of the *Bhagavadgītā* is the poet of the *Mahābhārata*, who has composed his poem with religious and practical aims and guided by the priniciples which he has exposed in the *thespésion mélos*. Nor can one say that contradictions exist amongst the principles declared in the different parts of the *Mahābhārata*: it suffices to know in this poem the assemblance of esoteric teachings, culminating in the "Upaniṣad" of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and of exoteric teachings, to understand how in it the Hindoos see

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1. *Bhandarkar Com. Vol.*, p. 99 ff., reprinted in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, p. 293 ff.
2. *Op. cit.*, *Vol.* III, p. 627.

nothing less than the most venerable authority for the religious system which governs them since so many centuries.

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But, if we suppose for our *Mahābhārata* one author, one poet, how must we think that he proceeded with his work? It is clear that the epic stuff treated by him is very old, and also the stuff of the *Upākhyānas*, the didactic one and so on, existed already for a good deal before his poem. Here we can find a good starting point in the enormous mass of materials collected in the notes and in the appendix of the Poona edition. Together with worthless variants and minor interpolations whose cause it is easy to find, we establish here the additions of whole *adhyāyas*, the deplacement of *adhyāyas*, twofold redaction of the same episode, already known in part to the readers of the old editions, e.g., in the contest of Karṇa and Śalya in the *Karṇa Parvan*. Here there is not a reason why an amanuensis should have prolonged by one or more chapters an episode of the poem, or substituted a passage in *śloka* to one in *triṣṭubh*, or *vice versa*, or changed the place of the chapters in a story. The reason evidently is that when the *Mahābhārata* did arrive in certain regions, it found there different redactions of some of its episodes, and these redactions have been substituted for or melted with those of the newly arrived poem. Now, if in a certain region there existed a certain story with its parts in a different order than in the original *Mahābhārata*, this means that the author of the *Mahābhārata* has found also in his country that story, and the order of parts has been altered by him or it already existed such as he fixed it in the poem; if in a certain region an episode was recited in *triṣṭubh* instead of *śloka* or *vice versa*, but the contents both of *triṣṭubh* and *śloka* is essentially the same, we must conclude that the different redaction of the original *Mahābhārata* is not a work *ex novo* by its author, but that the author has taken the episode such as he did find already in existence and that he has introduced it in his work, just so as he has freely made use of that sententious and didactic patrimony which he found in the *Śāstra*-literature.[1] In short, the poet of our *Mahābhārata* has found a good deal of his

1. Cp. what HOPKINS *says*, *Windisch Festschrift*, 1914, p. 72 f. after having observed the existence of the Hiraṇyakaśipu episode in *Harivaṃśa* and in the "Southern text" of *Mahābhārata*: "It will not have escaped the notice of those interested in the evolution of the epic, that much of the added material in this text consists in direct conversion of *Purāṇic* and *Harivaṃśa* matter into epic material. The tales of Kṛṣṇa thus recounted in the *Sabhā* according to the Southern text are of this nature. The present story, e.g., makes the forty-sixth chapter of *Sabhā* in the Kumbakonam edition. The text is well-nigh the same, but with some modifications worth nothing". And further (p. 75): "It is possible that these later added parts of the so-called Southern text of the *Mahābhārata* were not copied directly from any one version but were made up of a combination of elements in which certain pronounced features always occur. It does not seem as if there had been any archetype of the narration as a whole, to which the different versions may historically be referred. There is an archetypical story with a few salient features; but this had no fixed mould of which the sundry versions are variation. Each text is a new form for the old tale".

stuff already in existence, and has employed it without scruples, nay with the conscience of setting forth in this way a venerable tradition ; how he did proceed in its adaptation, a future research will perhaps say. So it is very probable that in the *Iliad* the traditional part is not limited to single formulas of the epic language, but that in it were freely elaborated older epic songs, which would account for the strong quantitative differences between the vulgate text and that of local traditions. When both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Iliad* reached different places from those where they arose, the rhapsodic stuff existing in them and substantially identical with the one used in the poems was substituted for or mixed up with this. Both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Iliad* (and in a less degree the *Odyssey*) represent therefore the definitive fixing up b y w r i t i n g of rhapsodic pre-existing materials made by poets who have added their own creations and disposed the whole according to a pre-established design, correcting—according to their own taste and capacity—the unevennesses, giving a uniform colour and so on.

Which was the rhapsodic stuff utilised by the author of our *Mahābhārata*? Before all the old *Bhārata* and *Mahābhārata* known to the author of *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra* and perhaps to Pāṇini[1]. Then single episodes relating to the heroes of the Bhārata-saga, to their forefathers, to other famous kings and warriors : this stuff comes from the *Kṣatriya*-courts where the bards celebrated the deeds of kings and princes and repeated that of older heroes. From another source comes the stuff, and for a part also the form of edifying upākhyānas, religious and moral : traditions of sanctuaries, of *tīrthas* where tellers of the miracles happened in every spots did not surely fail, of woody hermitages whose inhabitants, as the *Mahābhārata* itself testifies, were accustomed to tell stories of famous *Ṛṣis*. Not a little part comes from Brahmanical traditions, familiar or scholastic, especially all that is connected in some way with sacrifice, with preeminence of Brahmans and so on. Finally Brahmanical schools and already existing juridical and other treatises have contributed to the didactic part of the epos.[2] The work of the atomic criticism can be very useful to recognize the different materials that have joined in the epos, if it is utilized with prudence ; so for instance if one does not permit oneself to be influenced too much by formal features. It is necessary to take account of a traditional technique which the author of our *Mahābhārata* has inherited and which he has been able to utilize to give to the whole poem an archaic colour ; therefore I wouldn't let myself be induced too easily to consider with OLDENBERG as remnants of an ancient

1. It must be noted that the scholia published by BÖHTLINGK in the first edition of his Pāṇini have *Mahābhāratah* msc. ; cp. also WEBER, *Indische Studien*, XIII, p. 479-n3. For *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra* and Pāṇini are also noteworthy the hints of WINTERNITZ, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XIV, 1900, p. 55 ff.

2. We have a parallel in the various origin of French *Chansons de Geste*, for which cp. R. VISCARDI, *Le canzoni di Gesta, i temi tradizionali, le fanti letterarie e diplomatiche*, in *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Series II, Vol. VI, p. 281 ff. ; VII, p. 29 ff.

prosastic-poetic epos the parts in prose that appear scattered in the poem and that for a good deal are only an able imitation of *Brāhmaṇa* prose. In the same way, some *triṣṭubh* passages have been found by our poet, but others have been surely written by him.

Once the unity of the poem, as it has come down to us, has been admitted, we can try to date it with a certain precision, without the preoccupation of dating its various elements. As already BÜHLER has seen, our *Mahābhārata* must have existed already about 500 A.D., an epoch when it appears as known. From the other side, the poem not only knows Yavanas and Pahlavas, which would bring us down to 250 B.C., but also the Cīna or Chinese, the Tukhāra or Tocharians, the Hūṇa or Hunnians, the Romaka, or Romans, the Śaka or Scythes; Sylvain LÉVI[1]—preceded by WEBER—meant that in the name *Kaserumant* must be seen the name of Roman Caesares. However, Cīna, Tukhāra, Hūṇa, Śaka and above all Romaka cannot have been known before the beginning of Christian era. And if traces of Christianity are to be recognized in the *Bhagavadgītā* and in other parts of the poem, f.i. in the famous episode of Śvetadvīpa, this brings us to the same *terminus post quem*, the beginning of our era. All taken by his idea that our *Mahābhārata* has been composed in the fifth or sixth century B.C., DAHLMANN[2] thought that he could deliver himself of the Romaka by hinting to the fact that in the poem the *dīnāra* is not named[3]. But the poet wants to write a work venerable by its antiquity, which is therefore recited by Vaiśaṃpāyana and composed by Vyāsa : he betrays himself by naming peoples who did come into contact with India only in a recent epoch, but he knows that the *dīnāra* is an institution of his times and doesn't name it, just as Buddhism appears only in the polemic against its ideas, and the foreign domination is diligently ignored. It is a fashioned archaism, like that the *Iliad* whose author wants to reconstruct the world of heroes sung by him, but now and then introduces unwillingly anachronisms as contemporary armour, which simply appears side by side with the Mycenaean one, and so on. After having so largely determined the terms *ante* and *post*, I think that we can precise them saying that our *Mahābhārata* is arisen between the second and the fourth centuries A.D.[4].

As to the author of the work, it is certain that he was a Brahmin, and a keen research by Dr. SUKTHANKAR[5] has made it probable to think that he was a *Bhārgava*. As such he was perfectly suited to the literary aim that he has set to himself when writing his work, that is of compiling a *corpus*

1. *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, p. 200 ; cp. WEBER, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 88, n. 4.
2. *Genesis des Mahābhārata*, p. 44.
3. It is named in the *Harivaṃśa*; cp. KEITH, *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 681 ff., whose conclusions don't appear acceptable to me.
4. The same datation is arrived by LÉVI, cp. WINTERNITZ, Op. cit., Vol. III, p. 628.
5. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Epic Studies*, VI. *The Bhṛgus and the Bharata : a text-historical study.* (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVIII, 1, pp. 1-36)

absolutissimum of the sacred and profane *Smṛti* that had come down to him ; of compiling not as a learned philologist would do, collecting faithfully the form handed down to him and ordering it according to external criteria, but as a poet such as he was, taking the substance of *itihāsa, purāṇa,* and other epic products from one side, of *Śāstra* from the other one, and using the form that had come down to him only inasmuch as it could suit the poem planned by him ; otherwise he would freely cut, modify, renew, do over and add, and dispose organically the whole around the *itihāsa* of the Bhāratas, which was selected either because a *Bhārata,* nay a *Mahābhārata* already existed and had canonical value, or because its stuff was the most diffused in India and was felt as the national saga *kat' exochén* or finally because in it was *magna pars* the personage of Kṛṣṇa. From this point of view the *Mahābhārata, Śatasāhasrī saṃhitā* and *corpus absolutissimum* of the Brahmanical *Smṛti,* pertains, as Sylvain LÉVI[1] well perceived, to the series of those great *corpora* which flourished even in the first centuries of Christian era, that is of the *Śatasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, monuments of Buddhism, and of the *Bṛhatkathā* by Guṇāḍhya, monument of profane literature.

I have hinted to Kṛṣṇa, and with that to the second aim which the author of the *Mahābhārata* had in view. He is not only a literate, but also and above all a man of action, and his work is one of religious and social renewal. In the *Mahābhārata* are set indeed the foundations of Hinduism ; here too the old Brahmanical tradition remains untouched, not one iota is changed in the Law which Hinduism will not abolish, but complete. The Upaniṣadic reform of the old religion is limited to few initiated, popular cults are stranger to Brahmanism, the philosophical *Sāṃkhya* is absorbed by Buddhism which, protected already by the Mauryas and now by the foreign rulers, triumphs and threatens to annihilate the traditional religion and together with it the whole patrimony of national culture. The reawakening takes place in the name of *Bhakti,* of the new religious form—assumed also by *mahāyānic* Buddhism,—which fills with a new soul the old creeds and binds them together against the common enemy. Sacrifice remains, the gods and the whole celestial legion remain, augmented with the popular Deities, the endless cults remain also : but all this finds its centre and its justification in Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu or also in Śiva or other personages, every time designations of the Supreme Being who supports the cosmic process and who, to give them the final salvation, wants from the creatures only their complete self-abandonment, made up of confidence and love.

This new religious conception has found its support, with the author of the *Mahābhārata,* in a philosophy which unites boldly the individualistic theories of *Sāṃkhya-Yoga* with *theopanistic* ones of *Vedānta* : the *Puruṣa* is at the same time the *Brahman.* Here too our author makes his own an older thought, already appeared in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad,* and re-elabo-

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1. *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi,* p. 297 f.

rates old ideas : but how great a distance from the *Upaniṣad* to the *Bhagavadgītā* ! The intuition of a solitary seer has become the basis of a religious reform whose effects are incommensurable. Naturally I won't maintain that Hinduism is a creation of the poet of the *Mahābhārata;* the creator of the system may be another man, but the prophet and the evangelist of it is certainly he who wrote the *Bhagavadgītā* and therefore the *Mahābhārata.*

The *Mahābhārata* is therefore at the same time the announcement of a new faith and the *speculum* of kings and warriors, the deposit of heroic, religious, juridic, moral traditions of the Indian nation. And it is perhaps something else. It is the greatest exponent of a reaction to the use of Prākrit in the literature out of strictly Brahmanical circles, and of the successful attempt to give to profane India an overregional and national language. The *Mahābhārata* is for all this the greatest cultural battle for the resurrection of India, threatened with denationalisation by foreign dominations and by the universalistic religion of the Buddha, and righteously it has been and is still to-day the book of books for every Indian :

yo vidyāc caturo vedān sāṅgopaniṣadān dvijaḥ |
na cākhyānam idaṃ vidyān naiva sa syād vicakṣaṇaḥ ||

M.BH 1, 2, 285 P.

L'HYMNE AUX AŚVIN DE L'ĀDIPARVAN.[1]

Par

LOUIS RENOU, Paris

Depuis les indications fragmentaires données autrefois par WEBER (*ZDMG.* IV, p. 399=*Ind. Streifen* II p. 14) et la tentative de traduction faite en 1878 pas LUDWIG *Mantralitter.* (=*Der Rigv.* III) p. 552, il ne semble pas que l'interprétation de cet hymne ait fait de grands progrès. Cependant la belle édition critique du MhBh., qui met à notre portée un texte soigneusement établi de l'Ādiparvan, devrait rendre moins hasardeux un nouvel examen de cet hymne difficile, comme l'estime aussi M. H. WELLER, qui a donné à cet égard d'utiles conseils *ZII* VII p. 93.

On sait que ce poème imite délibérément la manière des hymnes védiques. L'imitation se décèle dès l'abord par la présence de motifs védiques et par la manière dont ils sont amenés et traités. Ainsi la cascade de duels rappelle immédiatement la pratique des hymnes aux Aśvin du RV. II 39 et X 106 (ce dernier au moins attestant qu'il y avait dans cette série une vieille tradition d'ésotérisme à galimatias). Le vocabulaire, malgré l'intrusion de quelques mots récents, est foncièrement mantrique. En revanche la grammaire est moderne, sauf les "tmèses" banales 1*a* et 6*c* (la résolution syllabique "*nāsatiyau*" 10*c* étant à écarter) ; en particulier l'auteur n'a pas fait usage des duels en -ā qui pourtant trouvaient ici largement leur emploi. Tout porte à croire qu'il a surtout visé à renchérir sur le style décousu et incohérent, ainsi que sur le procédé par énigmes, qui caractérisent certaines formes de la poésie védique.

Cette dernière considération nous invite à limiter l'effort de reconstruction. Il y aurait danger à tabler sur un type d'hymne à composition serrée. Et d'une manière générale il est plus prudent de dépister l'imitation que de restaurer : c'est dans cet esprit que nous présentons cet essai, qui ne prétend pas résoudre toutes les difficultés.

TEXTE RESTITUÉ DE L'HYMNE AUX AŚVIN

1. *pra pūrvagau pūrvajau citrabhānū*
   girā vā <*m*> *śaṃsā* [*mi*] *tapanāv anantau* |
   divyau s u p a r ṇ a u *virajau vimānāv*
   adhikṣiyantau bhuvanāni viśvā ||

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1. *Ādiparvan* I 3 60 à 70, éd. SUKTHANKAR. Nous citons les str. ici de 1 à 11. —Les chiffres sans abréviation de nom d'ouvrage concernent le Ṛgveda. L'abréviation "A" concerne les Aśvin.

2. *hiraṇmayau* ś a k u n ī *sāṃparāyau*
nāsatyadasrau sunasau vaijayantau |
śukraṃ vayantau tarasā suvemāv
abhivyayantāv asitaṃ vivasvat ||

3. *grastāṃ* s u p a r ṇ a s y a *balena vartikām*
amuñcatām aśvinau saubhagāya |
tāvat suvṛttāv anamanta māyayā
<*ye*> *sattamau gā aruṇā udāvaham* ||

4. ṣ a ṣ ṭ i ś *ca* g ā v a s t r i ś a t ā ś *ca dhenava*
e k a ṃ *vatsaṃ suvate taṃ duhanti* |
nānāgoṣṭhā vihitā ekadohanās
tāv aśvinau duhato gharmam ukthyam ||

5. e k ā ṃ *nābhiṃ* s a p t a ś a t ā *arāḥ śritāḥ*
p r a d h i ṣ v *anyā viṃśatir arpitā arāḥ* |
anemi cakraṃ parivartate 'jaraṃ
māyāśvinau <*vāṃ*> *samanakti carṣaṇī* ||

āram
6. *e k a m cakram vartate dvādaś* apradhi
ṣaṇṇābhim ekākṣam a m ṛ t a s y a *dhāraṇam* |
yasmin devā adhi viśve viṣaktās
tāv aśvinau muñcato mā viṣīdatam ||

7. **indro* <*yathā*> a m ṛ t a ṃ **vṛtrabhūye*
tirodhattām aśvinau dāsapatnī<*ḥ*> |
bhittvā giriṃ gā <*ḥ sa*> *mudā* c a r a n t a u
tad dṛṣṭam ahnā prathitā valasya ||

8. *yuvāṃ diśo janayatho daśāgre*
samāna[*ṃ*]*mūrdhnī rathayā viyanti* |
tāsāṃ yātam ṛṣayo 'nuprayānti
d e v ā m a n u ṣ y ā ḥ *kṣitim* ā c a r a n t i ||

9. *yuvāṃ varṇān vikurutho viśvarūpāṃs*
te 'dhikṣiyanti bhuvanāni viśvā |
te bhānavo 'py anusṛtāś caranti
d e v ā m a n u ṣ y ā ḥ *kṣitim* ā c a r a n t i ||

10. t a u *nāsatyāv* a ś v i n ā v *āmahe vāṃ*
srajaṃ ca yāṃ bibhṛthaḥ puṣkarasya |
<e>*tau nāsatyāv amṛtāv ṛtāvṛdhāv*
ṛte d e v ā s *tat* p r a p a d e n a s ū t e ||

11. *mukhena garbhaṃ labhatāṃ yuvānau*
gatāsur etat p r a p a d e n a s ū t e |
sadyo jāto mātaram atti garbhas
t ā v a ś v i n a u *muñcatho jīvase gāḥ* ||

VERS 1.

pra...śaṃsā : "tmèse" caractéristique, l'un des rares védismes proprement grammaticaux de ce texte. Même forme, avec même place des deux éléments, VII 100 5.

pūrvagau : mot moderne, mais cf. d'une part RV. *pūrvagátvan-*, d'autre part RV. *agregá-* et *purogā*.

pūrvajau : cf. *prá pūrvajé* VII 53 2. Le terme analogue *purājā-* est épithète des A. VII 73 1, et v. des parallèles BERGAIGNE *Rel. Véd.* II p. 431.

citrabhānū : mot purement védique (du moins comme adjectif), épithète des A. Khil. I 3 5.

girā : entrée de plusieurs mantra.

vā : on peut songer soit à un épisme pour *vai* (cf. LUDWIG *SBBöhm.* 1896, 5, p. 9), soit bien plutôt à un védisme pour *vām* (lequel figure d'ailleurs dans quelques mss.), comme IV 41 2 ; les faits analogues cités pour le MhBh. par LUDWIG op. c. p. 8, 9 et 16 sont très peu probants.

Mais le pāda a une syllabe de trop et il est tentant d'éliminer *vā* avec WELLER *ZII.* VII p. 294. Ou ne préfèrera-t-on pas garder *vā(ṃ)* et risquer *śaṃsā* (1re pers. sing. de subj. ṛgvédique en *-ā*) [H.S.] [1] ?

tapanāv anantau : cette plate fin de vers a pour elle la multiplication des épithètes duelles qui caractérise ce début d'hymne, et l'emploi absolu de *tapana-* au sens de "qui tourmente" peut revendiquer X 34 7. Mais cet emploi est exceptionnel, et d'autre part *ananta-* dans le RV. se dit des choses, non des personnes. On attend à cette place du vers l'instr. *tapasā*, que donne en effet une partie de la tradition manuscrite, et qui répond à *tarasā* 2c ; le mot final sera dès lors *vanantau* (non attesté, mais aisément restituable sur l'indicatif RV. *vánati, vanáti*). *Hanantau* (sur le présent *hanati*, cf. HOLTZMANN *Grammatisches* § 637) pourrait se prévaloir de *tápasā...jahi* X 83 2, *t. hantana* AV. VII 77 3, mais est mal soutenu textuellement. M. H.S. inclinerait à garder *tapanāv anantau* comme "split-compound" pour * *anantatapanau* cf. *anantatejas* ; exemples palis H. S. *BSL.* XXXIII p. 172 note 1.

divyau suparṇau : Cf. *divyā suparṇā* épithète des A. IV 43 3.

virajau vimānau : ici encore la prolifération des épithètes duelles peut inciter à conserver *viraja-* "pur" (ŚB. et ailleurs, et attesté aussi dans le MhBh) et à conférer à *vimāna-*, avec Nīlakaṇṭha, la traduction forgée ad hoc de "incomporable". Mais ce n'est qu'un expédient. Si *vimāna-* est à entendre, comme il semble, au sens ṛgvédique de "celui qui me-

1. Les remarques qui sont accompagnées des initiales "H.S." sont dues à M. Helmer SMITH, qui a bien volu nous faire profiter de la maîtrise qu'il s'est acquise en matière de métrique palie.

sure", cette interprétation entraîne presque inévitablement la restitution *rajaso*. Comme au pāda précédent la tradition manuscrite, incertaine ici d'ailleurs, aurait "dualisé" ce mot méconnu.—On peut aussi, comme dans le pāda précédent, poser un "split-compound" pour * *virajavimānau* [H.S.]

adhikṣiyantau : cf. *adhikṣiyánti bhúvanāni viśvā* I 154 2 (mantra fréquemment repris). Cette concordance presque totale du pāda exclut la lecture *-kṣipantau*. . Le plur. nt. *viśvā* peut passer pour un védisme caractérisé ; toutefois il faut noter que la même clausule figure en deux autres passages du MhBh. (HOPKINS *Great Epic* p. 251, LUDWIG *op c.* p. 15.)

VERS 2.

hiraṇmayau Śakunī : Cf. *hiraṇmáyaḥ Śakuniḥ* (appliqué au *bráhman-*) TB. II 12 9 7 ; l'assimilation des A. à des oiseaux se retrouve ailleurs, cf. BERGAIGNE *op. c.* II p. 443.

sāṁparāyau : le mot est véd. tradif et épique, mais n'apparaît nulle part avec la valeur adjective qu'il postule ici et qu'admet Nīl. Il s'agit à nouveau de l'épithétisation d'un loc. *saṃparāyé* qu'on a TB. au passage précité (ce qui est significatif !) ainsi que Suparṇādhy. V (10) 1. Le sens libre du mot paraît être "qui sauve au moment critique", cf. l'emploi fréquent de *níḥ* et *áti pr̥-* (*piparti*) dans le RV. en liaison avec la légende des A.

nāsatyadasrau : ces noms des A. se retrouvent ailleurs dans le MhBh., sinon en dvandva, du moins en juxtaposition (v. SÖRENSEN *Index* s.v. ; aussi Śaiva Up. éd. Mahadeva ŚASTRI p. 108 l. 4, Br̥haddev. VII 6). C'est l'effet d'une part du passage au sing. du duel r̥gvédique *nāsatyā*, d'autre part du passage à l'état de nom propre de l'épithète fréquente des A. *dasrá-*. Des formules comme *nā́satyā*. . *dasrā* I 116 16 ont été assimilées au type *índrā* . . *varuṇā*, et ont donné naissance à une notion géminée.

sunasau : mot récent, choisi peut-être par jeu avec le nom Nāsatya (étymologie populaire que BERGAIGNE *op c.* II p. 507 prend au sérieux), mais plus probablement parce que les A. sont comparés aux deux narines *nā́seva* II 39 6 ; cf. aussi *urūṇasaú* X 14 12.

vaijayantau : le mot a pu s'introduire ici en raison de sa fréquence dans l'épopée ; rien ne le recommande pour le sens et plusieurs mss. éliminent '*vai*', dont la suppression permettrait de restituer une triṣṭubh régulière [toutefois M. H. S. fait observer qu'en rayant *vai* on banalise la triṣṭubh sans l'améliorer, et qu'en pali la forme

⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — —

est licite, cf. *pallaṅkasetthe maṇisovaṇṇacitte* Vimānavatthu 290[a] (et Petavatthu 445[b]) ; cf. aussi Praśna-Up. 1 8[c] *sahasraraśmiḥ śatadhā vartamānaḥ*, Mund—Up. II 1 6[bc].] Emploi absolu de *jáyatam* en parlant des A. VIII 35 11.

śukraṃ vayantau : image r̥gvédique, cf. d'une part *vā́so bíbhratī śukrám*

VII 77 2 dit de l'Aurore, d'autre part *tántum*. . .*saṃváyantī* II 3 6 dit du Jour et de la Nuit. *Śukra-* comme adjectif est presque exclusivement védique.

suvemau : mot nouveau (repris dans un passage voisin du MhBh., également archaisant, I 3 147, rejeté dans l'éd. SUKTHANKAR). Mais *véman-* est un mot de la VS. XIX 83, dans un passage relatif aux Nāsatya et à côté delamentation de *vayati* et du *darśatáṃ vápuḥ* des A.

abhivyayantau : cf. *adhí vyayasva* III 53 19 et *avavyāyann ásitam*. . . *vásma* IV 13 4 (dit d'Agni qui allumé au matin, marque le départ des ténèbres ; cf. la note de GELDNER ad loc. et plus généralement SIEG *GN.* 1923 p. 4). Au vers TS. III 2 2 2 se trouve la même opposition de *śukrám* et d'*ásitam*. Le sens général est donc clair : les A., en tissant le (vêtement) blanc (de l'Aurore), enveloppent (i.e. cachent, comme on a *tirodhāya* dans le texte de TS.) le (vêtement) noir du soleil. C'est l'allusion à la face sombre du soleil nocturne, conception bien connue depuis les researches de M. SIEG *l. c.*

Qu'est grammaticalement *vivasvat* ? Malgré I 44 1 il est peu vraisemblable que l'auteur ait voulu poser un *vivasvat* neutre. Nous admettrons plutôt qu'à l'imitation des faits bien connus du Veda, il a cru pouvoir forger par " Wortkürzung " un génitif partitif sans désinence, comme on a dans le RV.,pour des finales en *-t* (peu importe si la Wortkürzung est ou non authentique) *parihrút dīrghaśrút samít-samit*. Bien entendu la restitution d'une finale de jagatī *vivasvataḥ* ne serait pas impossible, mais elle n'a qu'un faible appui dans la tradition textuelle. Rappelons enfin que dans une citation védique non identifiée chez Nir. XII 2 les A. sont appelés *asitau*, et que le mantro connu *śukráṁ te anyád yajatáṃ vām anyát* s'applique aux A. TĀ. I 10 1.

VERS 3.

a : trait bien connu de la légende des A. (I 112 8 et passim), mais l'animal qui avale la caille est le loup (X 39 13), jamais le *suparṇá-*. Rappelons toutefois que pour le Nir, V 21 ce loup désigne le soleil et que le *su.* est un nom manifeste du soleil.

La forme ṛgvédique de *grasta-* est *grasitá-*. Notre texte donne la forme moderne, qui figure à propos de la légende en question Nir. l.c., Nītimañj. n° 42 et chez les commentateurs du RV.

saubhagāya : clausule de I 164 27 AV. VII 73 8 et ailleurs.

c-d : corrompu en apparence, en fait vise à imiter la syntaxe heurtée et les brusques anacoluthes du Veda. Il s'agit, semble-t-il, des ennemis des dieux, du type des Paṇi, qui, tentant d'emmener les vaches dérobées par eux, ont dû s'incliner devant la puissance " magique " des A. : cf. VI 62 11 (et ci-dessous 7*c*) pour les relations des A. avec les vaches prisonnières. Ce sens pourrait être obtenu au prix de corrections légères, *te vāṃ* [on peut conserver d'ailleurs *tāvat*, malgré la rareté extrême du mot comme entrée de mantra] *suvṛttāv* [voc.] *a. m. ye sattamau* [mieux

que l'accus. *sattamā(ḥ)*, car une épithète non mantrique comme *sattama-* peut s'appuyer sur des épithètes des A. comme *indratamā purutámā purubhūtamā puruśākatamā madhupātamā marúttamā mṛḷayáttamā yāmahūtamā rathītamā vājasātamā vṛtrahantamā*, PISCHEL *Ved. Stud.* I p. 56], etc. La position d'un *ye* au début du pāda *d* [d'autant plus plausible que le pāda précédent finit par *-yayā*, H.S.] restaure une jagatī régulière.

La mention des *gā aruṇāḥ* rappelle celle des *aruṇāsaḥ......gāvaḥ* VI 64 3 et *góṣv aruṇāsu* de l'hymne aux A. X 61 4. Pour *māyayā*, il est vrai qu'avec le moyen de *nam-* le RV. utilise le datif, mais un instr. *māyayā*, qui forme d'ailleurs une clausule ṛgvédique fréquente, s'explique de soi. La *māyā-* des A. est alludée TĀ. I 10 2 et cf. ci-dessous 5*d*.

Reste l'épithète *suvṛttau*, mot non védique, qui a pu s'introduire par allitération avec la mention usuelle de *suvṛ́t-* comme épithète du char des A.

VERS 4.

Prenant pied sur la mention des vaches faite au vers 3*d*, le poète s'engage dans des énigmes numériques, procédé essentiellement ṛgvédique.

a : les entrées en *ṣaṣṭí-*, les finales en *dhenávaḥ*, sont typiques des mantra. Le nombre *triśatā ..ṣaṣṭíḥ* figure I 164 48 (hy. à énigmes qui fournit beaucoup de matériaux à notre texte) AV. X 8 4 (cf. aussi *ṣaṣṭíḥ aśvā*s VII 18 14 et MhBh. III 133 25). Il s'agit évidemment d'une énigme sur l'année, et l'on rapprochera (à la suite de HILLEBRANDT *Ved. Myth.* 2me éd. I p. 58) le texte de ŚŚS. XIII 10 11 qui donne le nombre de 360 comme total des hymnes ou vers aux A. La juxtaposition des *gāvaḥ* et des *dhenávaḥ* remonte à I 135 8.

b : cf. III 1 10, relatif à l'être "unique" qui reçoit le lait de femelles "nombreuses", dans le symbolisme d'Agni.

L'actif *duhanti* au sens de "donner son lait" doit être un souvenir des formes ṛgvédiques (inauthentiques, cf. WACKERNAGEL *KZ.* XLI p. 312) de même sens *aduhat duhīyát*.

c : opposition analogue entre *nānā* et *samānā́-* II 12 8 et ailleurs.

gharmam : le mot est typique des A. (cf. BERGAIGNE *op. cit.* II p. 470, GELDNER ad I 180 4, et notamment l'expression *gharmó duhyate* AV. VII 73 1, hymne aux A.) pour désigner le breuvage de lait chaud dont ils se repaissent. Les mots-clefs de cette str. figurent déjà III 53 14 (*gāvaḥ...duhré...gharmám*).

ukthyam : mot surtout ṛgvédique, qui sert d'épithète aux A. VIII 9 21 et figure volontiers en clausule. Par l'effet d'un transfert dont le présent hymne offre plusieurs exemples, le mot sert d'épithète au *gharma-*.

VERS 5.

Suite des énigmes numériques ; ici encore les éléments en sont empruntés à l'hymne I 164, à savoir notamment la roue de l'année avec ses 720 jours et nuits (cf. vers 11), l'épithète *ajára-* appliquée à cette roue (vers 2

et 14), le mot *àrpita.* (vers 12 et 14 : pour *śrita-* v. VIII 41 6 AV. X 8 34 en contexte analogue). Seule est aberrante l'épithète *anemi,* si elle est authentique : elle peut représenter une divergence consciente d'avec *sánemi* (*cakrám*) I 164 14 ; cf. aussi *yuktánemim* dans un hymne aux A., Khil. I 2 8.

samanakti : formation véd., cf. *sámañjate* Nir. XII 7 à propos des A., et VS. XXXIII 33. D'après II 3 2 et 7 (etc.) *samañj-* a pour régime le nom de la divinité ; il faut donc rendre " (cette) force magique oint les A.", comme on a *aktám ásurasya māyáyā* X 177 1.

carṣaṇī : mot ṛgvédique, figurant 1 109 5 au duel, mais nulle part appliqué aux A.—Le pāda est défectueux, une syllabe longue manquant à la 5me place devant la coupe : M. H.S. propose *vāṃ.* Nī *aśvinau māyā,* ni *māyayāśvinau* (ou *māyābhir aśvinau,* cf. V 78 6) ne satisfont pleinement.

VERS 6.

Reprise du vers précédent. Sur le char aux douze rais, v. I 164 11. L'expression *ṣaṇṇābhi-* figure ailleurs dans le MhBh. (III 133 25), passage qui pourrait porter à croire que la fin du pāda *a* devait être *dvādaśapradhi,* mais *dvādaśāram* est attesté comme épithète de l'année AV. IV 35 4 ; *pradhi-* a pu s'introduire d'après 5*b*, et M. WELLER l'élimine *ZII.* VII p. 294 [Toutefois M. H. S. de maintient, cf. ci-dessous].—sur *ekaeṃ cakram,* v. 1 164 2 et 48 AV. X 8 7.

ṣaṇṇābhim : substitué par modernité à *trinābhi-* I 164 2 Khil. I 2 8.

ekākṣam : expression moderne mais la mention de l'*ákṣa-* du char symbolique figure I 164 13 AV. XIX 53 2.

amṛtasya dhāraṇam : la leçon *ṛtásya dh.,* qui a pour elle quelques mss., est conforme aux formules ṛgvédiques en *ṛtásya dhárman* ou *dhārayā* etc., passim. Mais *amṛtasya* est possible, cf. IX 110 4 et son voisinage avec *nābhi-* II 40 1 et passim. M. H. S. note qu'il y a lieu de conserver *ekākṣam amṛtasya,* en admettant une "haplologie métrique" (cf. *A critical Pāli Dict.* s. v. *accupati*), laquelle a sa place privilégiée au choriambe interne de la triṣṭubh-jagatī. Dès lors la lecture **ṣaṇṇābhy ekākṣam* de WELLER l.c. est évitable.

c : emprunt presque littéral à I 164 39, avec seule substitution du moderne *viṣakta-* (depuis AV.) à *niṣedúḥ.* Détail typique : le MhBh. a conservé la tmèse du RV., bien qu'avec le changement de prédicat verbal en nominal elle fût devenue insolite.

mā viṣīdatam : formulation qui peut reposer le *māvi ví venatam* de l'hymne aux A. V 75 7.

VERS 7.

Vers difficile. Le premier hémistiche paraît exalter les A. en tant que destructeurs des forces ennemies. Le mot *dāsapatnī* (à lire *-īḥ,* comme le donnent quelques mss. ainsi que la refonte de la str. qui figure dans l'apparat

de SUKTHANKAR) est épithète des *púr-* ennemies comme III 12 6 ; le mot est attesté dans un hymne aux A., Khil. I 12 1. Mais le pāda *a* exige des corrections : si la mention du nom d'Indra est authentique, elle doit s'accompagner ou d'une particule comparative (*indro yathā, indra iva*) ou d'un verbe distinct de *tirodhattām* : on peut penser à *vardhatām* (cf. par ex. VS. XX 68). Les trois solutions ne donnent qu'un rythme médiocre, la dernière a du moins l'avantage de ne pas affaiblir la césure ; *vṛdhatām* serait encore plus risqué.

On peut tenter de garder *vṛttabhūyau*, bien que barbare (cf. OERTEL *Syntax* I p. 69) : le mot a pu se constituer à la faveur de la "dualisation" intense qu'atteste notre hymne, avec le sens de "faisant à nouveau les actes (déjà faits par Indra)". L'auteur aurait-il pris pareille formation pour un védisme ? Un **vṛddhabhūyau* serait un peu meilleur (à cause de VI 30 1), mais s'éloigne des données textuelles sans profit suffisant.—Mais comme le remarque M. H.S. notre interpretation de *valasya* 7*d* semble appeler en fin de 7*a* un * *vṛtra*. . .signifiant "au moment de votre victoire sur Vṛtra", soit peut-être *vṛtratūrye* (forme du R V.). [On sait que dans les textes palis *Vatrabhū* remplace *Vṛtrahan-* comme épithète d'Indra ; si cette déformation était connue des compilateurs du MhBh., un *vṛtrabhūye* loc. sg. (cf *abhibhūya-* en face de *abhibhū-*) a pu remplacer *vṛtrahatye*, H.S.]

Sur les relations des A. avec le cycle d'Indra, v. BERGAIGNE *op. cit.* II p. 435.

tirodhattām : probablement "injonctif" védique à valeur de prétérit.

bhittvā girim : cf. *bhinátsy ádrim* VIII 60 16 ; analogue I 116 20 dans la légende des A. C'est la reprise de l'allusion déjà faite 3*d* au rapt des vaches et à leur reconquête par les A., mais la teneur de *cd* est détériorée.

gām undācarantam : Signifierait à la rigueur "faisant sortir la vache" (*udācarant-* avec valeur causative ?). Mieux vaut évidemment lire *gā* [plur., comme 3*d* et 11*d*] *mudā* [cf. *mudā́* VIII 39 7] *carantau*. Comme le fait observer M. H. S., *aśvinau* disloque le rythme, mais par quoi le remplacer ? La résolution védique *gaāḥ* fausserait le mètre. Si, comme il semble, la syllabe manquante est celle qui suit *gā*(*ḥ*), on peut songer à *samudācarantau*. HOPKINS *Great Epic* p. 294 garde *aśvinau* et accepte l'hypermétrie.

d : le minimum de corrections semble donné par la lecture *tad dṛṣṭamahad pratītau balasya*, ce qui avec le pāda *c* fournit le sens "les A. après avoir fendu le montagne, s'avançant avec joie, ont rejoint les vaches par la puissance visible de leur force". Le vers, très plat et non exempt de modernisme, aurait ainsi du moins son rythme préservé. *Mahnā́* se dit des A. V 73 3 et le composé *dṛṣṭamahan-* peut s'autoriser de RV. *dṛṣṭávīrya-*. Mais il set évident qu'il serait plus satisfaisant de reconnaître dans *valasya* le nom du démon Vala dont la mention est an effet attendue en pareil contexte (cf. par ex. le vers précité VS. XX 68). Auquel cas *prathitā* masquerait un substantif déterminé par *valasya*, soit peutêtre **pratidhā*, comme on a *āpadhā́ valásya* II 12 3, et (*samu-*

dā)- *carantau* de *c* prendrait valeur de verbe personnel comme il arrive en maint passage du RV. pour le participe présent. [*tad dṛṣṭam ahnā prathitā valasya* pourrait être conservé "le jour en fut témoin lorsque le *vala-* fut ouvert", en posant *prath-* caus. (d'où le nom verbal *prathiti-*) comme équivalent d'·*apa-vṛ-* qui figure dans les formules védiques analogues, v. OLDENBERG ad II 12 3, H.S.

VERS 8.

yuvām : noter le nomin. post-védique.

diśo janayatho daśa : sous réserve que l'expression *daśa diś-* n'apparaît pas avant la prose védique, la création des *diś-* attribuée à telle ou telle divinité est mentionnée X 90 14 AV. X 7 34 et XIII 4 34.

samānaṃ mūrdhni : la correction *samānamūrahnī*(*ḥ*) s'impose, et améliore le mètre [la 3me longue de *4b 4c 5a 6a 6c 7b 8c 9a 10ad 11c* s'accompagne d'une césure après la quatrième, H. S] : le mot s'applique aux *díś-* TS. IV 3 11 4 et parallèles.

rathayā : ne peut représenter directement l'instr. *rathayā́* du RV., c'est ici nécessairement une épithète de *díś-*.

c : cf. pour la construction nominale de *yātam* les phrases *máma yātám ánuvartmānaḥ* AV. III 8 6 *asya...yātám* X 8 8 .

devā manuṣyāḥ · asyndète commune en védique.

kṣitim ācaranti : "se dirigent vers leur demeure" : emploi védique des deux termes.

VERS 9.

a : cf. *varṇaṃ carata āmimāné...vírūpe* I 113 3 (dit du Jour et de la Nuit).

vikurutho : l'élimination de la syllabe *vi*, rétablissant une triṣṭubh, supprimerait du même coup un *vi-kṛ-* avec une acception peu védique de "manifester, déployer" (cf. aussi *kṛṇuthā́ḥ* dans l'hymne aux A. X 39 11). Autre, HOPKINS op. c. p. 307. M. H. S. incline aussi à garder la "cadence upaniṣado-pali" en attirant l'attention sur le rapport de *9a* à *8a* semblable à celui de *2b* à 1c. Il rappelle aussi que *vi-kṛ-* est idiomatique en m. ind. avec *varṇa-* et que le préverbe va bien avec le mot suivant.

viśvarūpa- : forme exclusivement védique ou archaïsante.

b : v. le vers 1*d*. Emprunt presque textuel *à* I 154 2, l'entrée en "*te*" pouvant provenir du pāda *c*.

c : cf. d'une part *eté tyé bhānávaḥ... ā́uh* VII 75 3, d'autre part *prá bhānávaḥ sisrate* V 1 1, ce qui donne quelque appui à la forme incertaine *anusṛtāś*.

d : = 8*d*. Type de refrain ṛgvédique.

VERS 10.

āmahe : la forme n'a pour appui que l'hapax *maha ā́* VII 97 2 (padap. *mahe*) qui est une 3me pers. et a pour subject un nom de divinité. *Īmahe*

serait évidemment la correction la plus simple, à moins de recourir à *navāmahe* ou *stuvāmahe* suggérés par quelques mss., qui ont l'inconvénient d'altérer la structure de la str. M. H. S. se demande si l'on a fait sur *mahita-* "*laudatus*" une 1re pers. du moyen *mahe* "laudo" (pour *mahaye*), et *ā-mahe* "magnopere extollo". Les écrivains palis ont souvent hésité s'ils devaient reformer sur le participe *-ita-* un présent *-ati* ou *-ayati*.

b : cf l'épithète des A. *púṣkarasrajā* X 184 2 AV. III 22 4 Khil. IV 8 2.

ṛtāvṛdhau : il faut se garder de toucher à ce mot ṛgvédique, typique, épithéte des A. I 47 1 et ailleurs. *Amṛtau* est également épithéte des A. V 42 18.--La faute métrique est au début ; il semble qu'on doive lire *etau nāsatyau,* bien que nous ayons résolu d'éliminer ce schéma métrique de 8*b* [H. S.] ; *etau* alternant avec *tau* 10*a* comme *etat* 11*b* avec *tat* 10*d*.

ṛte devās : il s'agit du locatif de *ṛta-*, comme le montrent les allitérations en *ṛta-* telles que I 2 8, 23 5 etc. D'ailleurs l'entrée *ṛte devās* paraît engager le vers dans le cadre de IV 33 11*b* ou de X 55 7*d*. Mais nous sommes en présence d'un débris (volontaire ?), dont la suite a été remplacée par la clausule de 11*b*.

VERS 11.

a et *b* : énigmes de type védique, analogues à celles que BERGAIGNE op. c. II p. 48 sqq. a recueillies autour d'Agni, mais dont l'original exact semble manquer. Nous entendons le sens littéral comme suit : "les deux jeunes gens [les A., comme dans le RV,. passim ? En ce cas on pourrait rapprocher vaguement X 184 2. Du moins peut-on dire que la position d'un duel a été favorisée par les duels qui précèdent] conçoivent le fœtus par la bouche [on attend plutôt le moyen *labhetām*, donné en fait par certains mss.], le mort le procree par la pointe du pied". On peut comparer très vaguement I 164 7. M. H. S. préfère prendre *yuvānau* comme vocatif et garder *labhatām* comme 3me pers. de l'impératif : "qu'elle (i.e., la mère mentionnée 11*c*) conçoive par la bouche, ô jeunes gens".

sadyo jāto : entrée de mantra III 5 8 VIII 77 8.

mātaram... : cf. *mātárā gárbho atti* X 79 4.

jīvase : infinitif védique connu. On hésite à recourir à la correction trop facile *jīvase naḥ* (comme on a dans l'hy, aux A. II 39 6). *Gāḥ* forme clausule I 91 22 et passim, et la mention se raccorde aux vers 3*d* et 6*d*. *Muc-*, qui est caractéristique de la diction des hymnes aux A., figure en compagnie de *gó-* I 61 10 IV 12 6.

VERS 12.

La str. 12 qu'on n'a pas reproduite ici, est de caractère moderne, métriquement régulière, et a pour seul but de fournir le lien avec la prose qui suit.

Les coupes tout le long des str. 1-11, sont bien marquées, ce qui est plutôt védique qu'épique. Mais il faut ajouter [H. S.] que cette tradition est maintenue, sinon exagérée, dans les anciennes Upaniṣad et dans le canon pali ; les pāda longs ("contaminés") *2b 9a* s'expliquent en fonction de la coupe obligatoire.

Bref, si le style est pseudo-védique, le rythme est upaniṣado-pali.

Mais, dans le style même, il y a un trait qui, se retrouvant d'ailleurs en védique (BLOOMFIELD *RVRepet.* p. 5 sqq. et passim) comme en pali, est un élément instructif de restitution : c'est la concaténation qui joint entre elles les strophes : nous avons noté par des caractères espacés les mots de rappel. Il suffira d'y ajouter les indications suivantes :[1]

Aśvinau se trouve en outre dans *3b 4d 5d 6d 7b* (ce qui rend 7c suspect) *10a* et *11d ;* à *8a* et *9a* le nom est remplacé par le pronom *yuvām*, tandisque l'invocation par les noms propres Nāsatya-Dasrau suffit pour les str. 1-2 qui forment un *yugmaka.*

Le rappel *devāḥ* (*9d 10d*) est fort banal, et le lien entre *6b* et *7a* suppose que *amṛtasya 6b*, lecture métriquement difficilior, remonte à l'auteur de l'hymne. Les leçons *dvādaśāram* et *dvādaśapradhi* étant toutes deux correctes, nous avons en dernière analyse un archétype à surcharge, soit :

āram
dvādaś apradhi Or *pradhi-* est certainement moins fréquent (à l'époque en question) que ne l'est *ara-* (la roue du cakravartin est *sahassāra*, Dīgha N. II 172 10 v. aussi Visuddhimagga 198 30 Udāna 76 26), et justement *pradhi-* établit le lien attendu entre *5b* et *6a*, et cela par un mot peu banal : autrement, ce serait 5 *ab arāḥ* : 6*a dvādaśāram.*

1. A partir d'ici, nous transcrivons une communication par lettre qu'a bien voulu nous faire M. Helmer SMITH. L'application de lo loi de la "concaténation" lui revient.

ON THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE KṚṢṆA-EPIC

By

WALTER RUBEN, Ankara (Turkey)

It is a well known fact that the *Brahmapurāṇa* (B) contains the shortest recension of the story of the youth and the heroic deeds of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. that there is a fuller record of the same recension in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (V), that the Kṛṣṇa-epic of the V has been composed afresh in that of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (Bh), *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* (Vai) and *Harivaṃśa*[1] (H), and that in "V and H sometimes characteristic expressions and whole fragments of stanzas are identical."[2]

It is my intention to show in this paper that it is possible to reconstruct a recension of the Kṛṣṇa-story yet by far shorter than that of the B, and this shortest text-form may be the oldest obtainable "archetype" of the Kṛṣṇa-epic. In order to reconstruct this archetype we have to compare carefully the B (plus V) with the H. Both these texts are nearly identical in the first "purāṇic" part of the H, i.e. the cosmogony, the genealogies of the gods and kings etc., the so-called pañcalakṣaṇa,[3] and likewise the second part of the H comprising the life-story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is fundamentally the same as in the B—besides enormous interpolations in the H. Now the point of greatest interest is this that when we take away these interpolations of the H, which can be recognised easily, then the remaining stanzas of the H are even less in number than those of the B !

The stanzas of the B not to be found in the H can be easily omitted. They are not at all important for the report of the actions of the hero-god. They are rather superfluous and may therefore be regarded as later additions. The interpolations in B and V are usually songs of praise, hymns of the god Śrī Kṛṣṇa (31*, 33*-38*). But those of the H are for the most part fuller descriptions of the situations suggested in the text (1*—4*, 17* ; the same in V : 29*). This difference hints at the literary and religious character of these texts. In the following pages we will oppose Kṛṣṇa's Kāliya-adventure of the B against the same in the H, and we shall see that the archetype reconstructed in this fashion, contained only 33 stanzas, the B 56, the V 80, the H 109, the Bh 68, the Vai 168, the *Padmapurāṇa* 6 and the *Agnipurāṇa* only one stanza.

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1. WILSON, *Visnupurāna* I, p. CIX sq.

2. WINDISCH, *Ueber das Drama Mṛcchakaṭika und die Kṛṣṇalegende*. Verh. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Leipzig. phil. hist. Kl. 37. Bd. 1885, p. 474 ; HOLTZMANN, *Das Mahābhārata und seine Teile* IV. 1895, p. 37 ; TADPATRIKAR, The Kṛṣṇa-problem, *Annals of the Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.* Poona 1931, 269 sqq., 276, 296. KIRFEL, *Kṛṣnas Jugendgeschichte in den Purāṇa* in : Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens, Bonn 1926, pp. 299 sq.

3. KIRFEL, *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Bonn 1927 pp. XXVIII, XXXIII, XLII.

As regards the stanzas common to B and H, some are indeed verbatim identical (6ab, 7ab, 13ab, 15, 16b, 17b, 18b, 20, 30) and it may be mentioned that these stanzas are no common phrases, but the decisive words of the chapter. Out of these stanza 20 shows that in the old Kṛṣṇa-epic there were ślokas with 6 pādas. Further on : some stanzas of B and H are rather similar to each other (e.g. 8, 13cd, 19) ; but others (14, 21—24) differ so widely from one another that perhaps not everybody will acknowledge that they are remnants of the old archetype at all. It is impossible in these cases to reconstruct the wording of the archetype. But something like these stanzas must have been in the archetype, and the difference between B and H is not greater than the difference between two recensions of many stanzas of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* ! I count 33 ślokas of the archetype in this chapter ; but it may be that there were some more the remnants of which can perhaps be found in the interpolations 16*—17* (*anilāśanaḥ–analānanaḥ*) or 23*—24* (*drutaḥ praskhalito—ārtaḥ skhalita*).

It is interesting to observe the stanzas 7cd, 12ab, 18cd ; they show how one line (two pādas) of the archetype— preserved in one recension— became a couplet of two lines (four pādas) in the other recension. Moreover a second type of text-corruption can be studied rather often : single pādas have been removed from their original śloka ; this deterioration too happened mostly in H (28c, 26a, 32a), seldom in B (27c).

As regards the wording of the archetype, we may follow in general the B instead of the H because in the B there are less interpolations than in the H. But, for instance, the text of stanza 27 has been altered in B (and V) on account of the preceding interpolation of the hymn of the serpent-women. Further on there are at least some rare stanzas in which V and H agree against B (9a, 11d, 13a, 15a, 16a, 18b, 20c). In these cases V and H have kept the old wording of the archetype, although V, owing to its interpolations, may be regarded as an offshoot of the B. In other cases V has innovations against B and H (3d, 15d, 32a). It will be useful to compare manuscripts of all these texts, as for instance in stanza 20 one single manuscript of B agrees with the H and V against the printed edition of the B. In the same way the critical comparision of these three texts will be decisive with regard to the textual valuation of the different manuscripts, for instance when SUKTHANKAR will begin his critical edition of the H !

In the following chapter of the Kāliya-adventure, on the left side has been printed the text of the B (and V) ; the figures of the V are added in parentheses ( ). On the right side is the text of the H. The figures of all the interpolations are marked by an asterisk (*). The rare *variæ lectiones* are taken from the following printed editions.

H :1) ed. Venkateśvar Press. Bombay sam. 1983, oblong.
2) ed. Rāmachandraśāstri KINJAVADEKAR. Poona 1936 who cites the manuscripts ka, kha, ga, gha.

B : ed. Anandāśrama S. S.

V : 1) ed. Bombay 1853.
2) ed. by Bhāgavata Bhāskarasuta Viśvanātha, oblong.
3) ed. Bombay 1824 śaka.

WILSON, *Works* IX (London 1868), has used three manuscripts (vide ibid. vol. VI, p. CXIV) which differ only a little from one another. In parentheses ( ) the figures of corresponding stanzas of the Bh are noted, but the wording of this Purāṇa differs so much from B, V and H that it cannot be used for the reconstruction of the archetype. Nevertheless it is quite clear that the Bh is to be derived from the recension of the B (33*, 35*, 29) or rather V-recension (37*). Only in śloka 9 of the interpolation 17* there may be some similarity between H 9 and Bh 9c ; that may be explained as a borrowing of Bh from the H. Further on the Bh has some interpolations of its own : after śloka 1 the Bh tells some story of the cows, how they were poisoned and restored to life by Śrī Kṛṣṇa (Bh. 15, 48—52). The same story occurs in Vai 19, 1—7. Instead of śloka 14, the Bh (16, 12 sqq.) gives some particulars about dreams and omina of the herdsmen by which they came to know the adventure of Kṛṣṇa. The speech of Balarāma (23—24) is omitted in the Bh (16, 16). At the end of the chapter the Bh adds some 12 ślokas (17, 1—12) about the previous history of Kāliya.

In the *Padmapurāṇa* (272, 128—134) the story is told in the shortest way. In the B—V—H the Kāliya-snake has 5 heads, in the Bh a hundred (16, 28), but in the P(129) one thousand !

The Vai (IV, 19) finally contains all the material of the Bh and something more. It is therefore the youngest among these texts. As regards the wording there is no more any connection between the B—V—Bh—H and the Vai. The fight and the whole story is told in very short terms (8—13). Then follows an episode of the queen of the snake Surasā who, after praising Śrī Kṛṣṇa in a hymn (15—32) ending in a śravaṇaphala (33 sq.), is dismissed by Kṛṣṇa very kindly to the Goloka (55—57). Instead of her, Kṛṣṇa gives to Kālıya a shadow-queen (chāyā) (cf. the shadow-Sītā of the Vai, *Kūrmapurāṇa* and *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* : PRINTZ in *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens* : vide supra, p. 109 sqq.)

After that follows a corresponding episode how the victor Kṛṣṇa kindly sends the defeated Kāliya to his original abode in the ocean and Kāliya on his part praises Śrī Kṛṣṇa in a hymn (75 sqq.) ending again in a śravaṇaphala (93 sq.). This hymn may be used as a charm or (written on a birchbark which is used for manuscripts in NW-India) as an amulet against snakebite (96). In the three older texts no such charms are mentioned. In the Bh 16, 61 sq. we are told that he who recites this Kāliya-adventure, may not fear snakes, and that he who bathes in the Jumna in the spot where Kāliya was defeated by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, becomes free from all his sins. But only in the Vai the snake is as holy and inviolable as the Brāhmaṇas. Accordingly in the Vai is missing the topos of the V 68 sq. (in 37) and Bh that the snakes are bad because God made them bad, and that they therefore should not be beaten by the God. On the ghat in Brindaban there is now-a-

days a small temple with the image of the snake and a Brāhmaṇa is reciting the story of Kāliya for the pilgrims there—but it is a pity that I forgot to ask him what recension he was reading.

Then the Vai contains the previous history of Kāliya with fuller details than the Bh ; it mentions Saubhari (123 sqq.) and his kindness to the fishes. The story of this saint is one of the oldest contents of purāṇic texts (PARGITER, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 1922, pp. 56, 73).

Suddenly the Vai returns to the fight of Kṛṣṇa against Kāliya (136 sqq.) and to the lamentations of the herdsmen and Rādhā (146 who is not mentioned in the older texts). Balarāma's consolation (151 sqq.) is missing in Bh. Finally Kṛṣṇa, shining like the rising sun, comes out of the water (163). These last stanzas (136 sqq.) are so abruptly annexed to the previous story that we have to search for a strong textual reason. But as long as we do not know the source of the Vai—in general it must have been similar to the Bh—we cannot clear up this problem Perhaps the author of the Vai found no better way to reintroduce the speech of Balarāma missing in Bh.

KĀLIYADAMANAM

B. 185 ; V. v, 7 ; H. II, 11 sq.; Bh. X, 15, 47—16 ; Vai. IV, 19 ; P. 272, 128—134.

1) *Ekadā tu vinā* Rāmam Kṛṣṇo Vṛndāvanaṃ yayau | vicacāra vṛto gopair vanyapuṣpasragujjvalaḥ || 1 (1) (Bh 47)	kadācit tu tadā Kṛṣṇo vinā Saṃkarṣaṇena vai | cacāra tad vanaṃ ramyam kāmarūpī varānanaḥ || 1 ||

1*) H : kākapakṣadharaḥ śrīmāñ chyāmaḥ padmadalekṣaṇaḥ |
śrīvatsen orasā yuktaḥ śaśāṅka iva nirmalaḥ || H 2 ||
sāṅgaden āgrahastena[1] paṃkajodbhinnavarcasā |
sukumārābhitāmreṇa krāṃtavikrāṃtagāminā || H 3 ||
pīte prītikare nṛṇāṃ padmakiñjalkasaprabhe[2] |
sūkṣme vasāno vasane sasaṃdhya iva toyadaḥ || H 4 ||
vatsavyāpārayuktābhyāṃ vyagrābhyāṃ gaṇḍarajjubhiḥ |
bhujābhyāṃ sādhuvṛttābhyāṃ pūjitābhyāṃ divaukasaiḥ[3] || H 5 ||
sadṛśaṃ puṇḍarīkasya gandhena kamalasya ca |
rarāja cāsya tadbālye rucirauṣṭhapuṭaṃ mukham || H 6 ||
śikhābhis tasya muktābhī rarāja mukhapaṅkajaṃ[4] |
vṛtaṃ ṣaṣpadapaṅktībhir yathā syāt padamaṇḍalam || H 7 ||
tasyārjunakadambāḍhyā nīpakandalamālinī |
rarāja mālā śirasi nakṣatrāṇāṃ[5] yathā divi || H 8 ||
sa tayā mālayā vīraḥ śuśubhe kaṇṭhasaktayā[6] |
meghamālāmbudaśyāmo nabhasya iva mūrtimān || H 9 ||

1* 1) pādena : kha 2) sannibhe : kha 3) sadāmariḥ 4) maṇḍalam : ka 5) ṇi : kha 6) sarvapuṣpayā : kha.

eken āmalapatreṇa kaṇṭhasūtrāvalambinā |
rarāja barhipatreṇa mandamārutakampinā || H 10 ||
kvacid gāyan kvacit krīḍaṃś cañcūryaṃś ca kvacit kvacit |
parṇavādyaṃ śrutisukhaṃ vādayaṃś ca kvacid vane || H 11 ||
gopaveṇuṃ sumadhuraṃ kāmāt tam api vādayan |
prahlādanārthaṃ ca gavāṃ kvacid vanagato yuvā || H 12 ||
gokule'mbudharaśyāmaś cacāra dyutimān prabhuḥ |
reme ca tatra ramyāsu citrāsu vanarājiṣu || H 13 ||
mayūraravaghuṣṭāsu madanoddīpanīṣu ca |
meghanādaprativyūhair nāditāsu samantataḥ || H 14 ||
śādvalacchannamārgāsu śilīndhrābharaṇāsu ca |
kandalāmalapatrāsu[7] sravantīṣu navaṃ jalam || H 15 ||
kesarāṇāṃ navair gandhair madaniḥśvasitopamaiḥ |
abhīkṣṇaṃ niḥśvasantīṣu kāminīṣv iva nityaśaḥ[8] || H 16 ||
sevyamāno navair vātair drumasaṃghātaniḥsṛtaiḥ |
tāsu Kṛṣṇo mudam lebhe saumyāsu vanarājiṣu || H 17 ||
sa kadācid vane tasmin gobhiḥ saha paribhraman
dadarśa vipulodagraṃ[9] śākhinaṃ śākhināṃ varaṃ || H 18 ||
sthitaṃ dharaṇyāṃ meghābham nibiḍaṃ dalasaṃcayaiḥ[10] |
gaganārddhocchritākāraṃ parvatābhogadhāriṇaṃ || H 19 ||
nīlacitrāṅgavarṇaiś ca sevitaṃ bahubhiḥ khagaiḥ |
phalaiḥ pravālaiś ca ghanaiḥ sendracāpaghanopamam || H 20 ||
bhavanākāraviṭapaṃ latāpuṣpasumaṇḍitam |
viśālamūlāvanataṃ pavanāmbhodadhāriṇam || H 21 ||
ādhipatyam iv ānyeṣāṃ tasya deśasya śākhinām
kurvāṇaṃ śubhakarmāṇaṃ nirāvarṣam anātapam || H 22 ||
nyagrodhaṃ parvatāgrābhaṃ Bhāṇḍīraṃ nāma nāmataḥ |
dṛṣṭvā tatra matiṃ cakre nivāsāya tataḥ[11] prabhuḥ || H 23 ||
sa tatra vayasā tulyair vatsapālaiḥ sah ānagha |
reme vai vāsaraṃ[12] Kṛṣṇaḥ purā svargagato yathā || H 24 ||
taṃ krīḍamāṇam gopālāḥ Kṛṣṇaṃ Bhāṇḍīravāsinam |
ramayanti sma bahavo vanyaiḥ krīḍanakais tadā || H 25 ||
anye sma parigāyanti gopā muditamānasāḥ |
gopālāḥ Kṛṣṇam ev ānye gāyanti sma ratipriyāḥ || H 26 ||
teṣām sa gāyatām eva vādayām āsa vīryavān |
parnavādyāntare veṇuṃ tumbīvīṇām ca tatra ha || H 27 ||
kadācic cārayann eva gāḥ sa govṛṣabhekṣaṇaḥ || H 28 ab ||

2ab) sa jagām ātha Kālindīm (cf. Bh. 47d)
lolakallolaśālinīm | 2ab (2ab)

jagāma Yamunātīram
latālaṃkṛtapādapam ||28 cd||

7) dantīṣu kha 8) yoṣitsv iva samantaḥ : kha 9) gre : ka 10) patra : kha
11) dā. kha 12) divasaṃ : kha 13) thā : ka 2ab 1) mā : ka.

2*) H : taraṅgāpāṅgakuṭilāṃ vārisparśasukhānilām |
tāṃ ca padmotpalavatīṃ dadarśa Yamunāṃ nadīṃ || H 29 ||
sutīrthāṃ svādusalilāṃ hradinīṃ vegagāminīm |
toyavātodyatair vegair avanāmitapādapām || H 30 ||
haṃsakāraṇḍavodghuṣṭāṃ sārasaiś ca nināditām[1] |
anarghamithunaiś[2] caiva sevitāṃ mithunecaraiḥ || H 31 ||
jalajaiḥ prāṇibhiḥ kīrṇāṃ jalajair bhūṣitāṃ guṇaiḥ |
jalajaiḥ kusumaiś citrāṃ jalajair haritodakām[3] || H 32 ||
prasṛtasrotacaraṇāṃ pulinaśroṇimaṇḍalām | .
āvartanābhigambhīrāṃ padmaromānurañjitām || H 33 ||
taṭacchedodarāṃ kāntāṃ tritaraṅgavalīdharām | H 34 ab |

2cd) tīrasaṃlagna*phena*aughaiḥ *ha*santīm iva sarvataḥ || 2cd (2cd) ||

phenaprahṛṣṭavadanām prasannāṃ haṃsahāsinīm || 34cd ||

3*) H : rucirotpalaraktoṣṭhīṃ[1] natabhrūṃ jalajekṣaṇām |
hradadīrghalalāṭāntāṃ kāntāṃ śaivalamūrdhajām || H 35 ||
cakravākastanataṭīṃ tīrapārśvāyatānanām |
dīrghasrotāyatabhujām ābhogaśravaṇāyatām || H 36 ||
kāraṇḍavākuṇḍalinīṃ śrīmatpaṅkajalocanām |
taṭajābharaṇopetāṃ mīnanirmalamekhalām || H 37 ||
vāriplavaplavakṣaumāṃ sārasārāvanūpurām |
kāśacāmīkaraṃ vāso vasānāṃ haṃsalakṣaṇām || H 38 ||
bhīmanakrānuliptāṅgīṃ kūrmalakṣaṇabhūṣitām |
nipānaśvāpadāpīḍāṃ nṛbhiḥ pīnapayodharām || H 39 ||
śvāpadocchiṣṭasalilām āśramasthānasaṃkulām |
tāṃ samudrasya mahiṣīm īkṣamāṇaḥ samantataḥ || H 40 ||

3) tasyāṃ cātimahābhīmam
viṣāgnikaṇabhūṣitam[1]
hradaṃ Kāliyanāgasya |
dadarśa[2]tīva[3]bhīṣaṇam || 3 (3)

cacāra ruciraṃ Kṛṣṇo
Yamunām upaśobhayan |
tāṃ caran sa nadīṃ śreṣṭhām
dadarśa hradam uttamam || H 41 ||

4*) H : dīrghaṃ yojanavistāraṃ dustaraṃ Tridaśair api |
gambhīram akṣobhyajalaṃ niṣkampam iva sāgaram || H 42 ||
toyajaiḥ śvāpadais tyaktaṃ śūnyaṃ toyacarair khagaiḥ |
agādhenāmbhasā pūrṇam meghapūṇam iv āmbaram || H 43 ||
duḥkhopasarpyaṃ tīreṣu sasarpair vipulair vilaiḥ |
viṣāraṇibhavasyāgner dhūmena pariveṣṭitam || H 44 ||
(45 vide infra).
ākāśād apy asaṃcāryaṃ khagair ākāśagocaraiḥ |
tṛṇeṣv api patatsv apsu jvalantam iva tejasā || H 46 ||

2* 1) vi : ka 2) anyonya : ka, kha, gha 3) kha om. H 32 ! 4) prāsthita : kha 5) paṅka : kha

3* 1) rudhi : ka, kha 2) pā : kha

3) 1) śṛtavāriṇam : V 2) dadṛśe V 3) ātīva : $V_{1,2}$

samantād yojanaṃsāgraṃ devair api durāsadam | H 47 ab (cf. H. 42 ab)

4ab) *viṣāgninā* visaratā dagdhatīramahātarum | 4ab (4ab)	viṣānalena ghoreṇa jvālāprajvalitadrumam[1] |47cd

5*) B, V : vātāhatāmbuvikṣepasparśadagdhavihaṃgamam | 4cd(4cd) (cf. Bh. 16,4 sq.)

tam atīva mahāraudraṃ mṛtyuvaktram[1] ivāparam | 5 ab (5 ab)

6*) H : vrajasy ottaratas tasya krośamātre nirāmaye | H 48ab

4cd) vilokya *cintayām āsa* bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ || 5cd (5cd) ||	taṃ dṛṣṭvā cintayām āsa Kṛṣṇo vai vipulaṃ hradam || || 48 cd ||

7*) H : agādhaṃ dyotamānaṃ ca kasyāyaṃ mahato hradaḥ[1] | H 49 ab

5ab) *asmin vasati* duṣṭātmā (cf. H 50b) *Kāliyo* 'sau viṣāyudhaḥ | 6ab (6ab)	asmin sa Kāliyo nāma kālāñjanacayopamaḥ ||49cd||

8*) H : uragādhipatiḥ sākṣād dhrade vasati dāruṇaḥ | H 50ab

5cd) *yo mayā* nir*jitas* tyaktvā duṣṭo naṣṭaḥ payonidhau[1] || 6cd (6cd) ||	utsṛjya sāgarāvāsam yo mayā viditaḥ purā || 50cd ||

9*) bhayāt patagarājasya suparṇasy*orag*āśinaḥ | H 51ab

6) *teneyaṃ dūṣitā sarvā Yamunā sāgarāṃganā* 7ab (7ab), 51cd

na narair[1] godhanair vāpi tṛṣārtair upabhujyate[3] || 7cd (7cd) ||	abhogyaṃ[2] tat paśūnaṃ hi apeyaṃ ca jalārthinām ||45ab||

10*) H : upabhogaiḥ parityaktaṃ surais[1] triṣavaṇārthibhiḥ | 45cd
bhayāt tasy[2] oragapater nāyaṃ deśo niṣevyate |
tad idaṃ dāruṇākāram araṇyaṃ rūḍhaśāḍvalam || 52 ||
sāvarohadrumaṃ ghoraṃ kīrṇaṃ nānālatādrumaiḥ |
rakṣitaṃ sarparājasya sacivair āptakāribhiḥ || 53 ||
vanaṃ nirviṣayākāraṃ viṣānnam iva duḥspṛśam |
tair āptakāribhir nityaṃ sarvataḥ parirakṣitam || 54 ||
śaivālanalinaiś cāpi vṛkṣaiḥ kṣudralatākulaiḥ[3] |
kartavyamārgau bhrājete hradasyāsya taṭāv ubhau || 55 ||

4ab) 1) jvalitodakam : kha 5*) 1) cakram : V_3 7*) 1) kasyedaṃ sumahad dhradam : kha
5cd) 1) nidhim : V
6) 1) gopair : V_1 2) jyam : kha 3) jīvyate : $V_{2,3}$
10*) 1) ṣaḍbhis : ka, gha 2) bhayād asya : kha 3) kṣupa : kha

7ab) *tad asya*[1] *nāgarājasya*[2] *kartavyo nigraho mayā* | 8ab (8ab), 56ab

11*) H : yath eyaṃ saridambhodā bhavec chivajalāśayā || 56cd ||

7cd) nityatrastāḥ[3] *sukhaṃ* yena *car*eyur *vraja*vāsinaḥ || 8cd (8 cd) ||	vrajopabhogyā ca yathā nāge ca damite mayā | 57 ab sarvatra[4] sukhasaṃcārā sarvatīrthasukhāśrayā ||57 cd ||
8) *etadarthaṃ* nṛloke *'smin* avatāro mayā kṛtaḥ | yad *eṣām utpathasthānām* kāryā śāstir[2] *durātmanām* || 9 (9) ||	etadarthaṃ ca vāso 'yam[1] vraje 'smin gopajanma ca | amīṣām utpathasthānām nigrahārthaṃ durātmanām || 58 ||
9) *tad enaṃ* nātidūrastham *kadambam* uruśākhinam | adhi*ruhy* ot*pat*iṣyāmi *hrade* 'smin jīvanāśinaḥ || 10 (10) ||	enaṃ[1] kadambam āruhya tad eva śiśulīlayā | vinipatya hrade ghore damayiṣyāmi Kālıyam || 59 ||

12*) H : evaṃkṛte bāhuvīryaṃ loke khyātiṃ gamiṣyati || 60 ||

10ab) itthaṃ vıcintya *baddhvā* ca[1] gāḍhaṃ *parikaraṃ* tataḥ | 11ab (11ab)	sopasṛtya nadītīram baddhvā parikaraṃ dṛḍham | 1ab

13*) H : ārohac capalaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ kadambaśikharaṃ mudā || 1cd ||

Kṛṣṇaḥ kadambaśikharāl lambamāno ghanākṛtiḥ[1] | 2ab

10 cd) *nipapāta hrade* tatra sarparājasya vegataḥ[2] || 11cd (11cd) (Bh 16,6) ||	hradamadhye 'karoc chabdam nipatann ambujekṣaṇaḥ ||2cd||
11) tenāpi[1] *patatā tatra* *kṣobhitaḥ* sa mahā*hradaḥ* | (Bh. 7ab) atyarthadūrajātāṃś[4] ca[5] tāṃś cāsiñcan[6] mahīruhān || 12 (12) ||	Kṛṣṇena tatra patatā[2] kṣubhito[3] Yamunāhradaḥ | saṁprāśicyata vegena bhidyamāna ivāmbudaḥ || 3 ||

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7) 1) na tasya : V_2 2) sarpa : H, ka (B) 3) nityā ga ; nistrāsas tu : V_1 Wilson. 4) sarvartu : ka

8) 1) me : kha 2) śātir : ga

9) 1) etan : $V_{2,3}$ B 2) etaṃ : kha 3) nalināśinaḥ : V_1 ; anilāśinaḥ : $V_{2,3}$

12*) Ka om. ; idam ardham adhikam iti pratibhāti : Rāmachandraśāstri

10) 1) sa : kha 2) vegitaḥ : $V_{1,2}$

11) 1) bhi : $V_{2,3}$ Wilson 2) sa Kṛṣṇenābhipatatā : ka, kha 3) kṣo : ka, kha 4) aṃ : V 5) tāṃs tu : V 6) tān asiñcan : $V_{2,3}$ Wilson ; samasañcin V_1

13*) 1) 'mbudākṛtiḥ : ka

14*) B,V : te hi duṣṭaviṣajvālātaptāmbutapanokṣtāḥ[1] |
jajvaluḥ pādapāḥ sadyo jvālāvyāptadigantarāḥ || 13 (13abcd) ||
āsphoṭayām āsa tadā Kṛṣṇo nāga[2]hradaṃ[3] bhujaiḥ | 14ab (13ef)

12ab) tac*chabda*śravaṇāc cātha[1] nāgarājo 'bhyupāgamat 14cd (14ab) (Bh 8)	tena śabdena saṃkṣubdham sarpasya bhavanaṃ mahat | udatiṣṭhaj jalāt[2] sarpo roṣaparyākulekṣaṇaḥ || 4cd ||

15*) H : sa coragapatiḥ kruddho megharāśisamaprabhaḥ | 5ab

12cd) ātāmra*nayanaḥ* kopāt[3] viṣajvālākulaiḥ phaṇaiḥ | 15ab (14cd)	tato raktāntanayanaḥ Kāliyaḥ samadṛśyata || 5cd ||

16*) B, V : vṛto mahāviṣaiś cānyair aruṇair[1] anilāśanaḥ[2] | 15cd (14ef)

17*) H : pañcāsyaḥ pāvakocchvāsaś calajjihvo 'nalānanaḥ |
pṛthubhiḥ pañcabhir ghoraiḥ śirobhiḥ parivāritaḥ || 6 ||
pūrayitvā hradaṃ sarvaṃ bhogen ānalavarcasā |
sphurann iva ca[1] roṣeṇa jvalann iva ca tejasā || 7 ||
krodhena jvalatas tasya jalaṃ śṛtam iv ābhavat |
pratisrotāś ca bhittv eva jagāma Yamunā nadī || 8 ||
tasya krodhāgnipūrṇebhyo vaktrebhyo 'bhūc ca mārutaḥ |
dṛṣṭvā Kṛṣṇaṃ hradagataṃ krīḍantam śiśulīlayā || 9 (Bh. 9c) ||
sadhūmāḥ pannagendrasya mukhān niścerur arciṣaḥ |
sṛjatā tena roṣāgniṃ samīpe tīrajā drumāḥ || 10 ||
kṣaṇena bhasmasān nītā yugāntapratimena vai | 11ab

12ef) nāgapatnyaś *ca* śataśo harihāropaśobhitaḥ | 16ab (15ab)	tasya putrāś ca dārāś ca bhṛtyāś cānye mahoragāḥ || 11cd ||

18*) B, V : prakampitatanūtkṣepa[1]calatkuṇḍalakāntayaḥ[2] || 16cd (15cd) ||

19*) H : vamantaḥ pāvakaṃ ghoraṃ vaktrebhyo viṣasambhavam |
sadhūmaṃ pannagendrās te nipetur amitaujasaḥ || 12 ||

3ab) tataḥ *praveśitaḥ*[1] *sarpaiḥ* *sa Kṛṣṇo bhogabandhanaiḥ*[2]	praveśitaś ca taiḥ sarpaiḥ 17ab (16ab), 13ab

20*) H : niryatnacaraṇākāras tasthau girir iv ācalaḥ | 13cd

13cd) *dadaṃś*uś cāpi te Kṛṣṇam (Bh. 9cd ?) *viṣa*jvāl*āvilair* mukhaiḥ || 17cd (16cd) ||	adaśan daśanais tīkṣṇaiḥ viṣotpīḍajalāvilaiḥ | 14ab

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14) 1) pavano : V Wilson) 2) nagarāja : $V_{2,3}$ 3) de : V, ga 4) jam : V, ga
12) 1) cāśu : V 2) uttasthāv udakāt : ka 3) no duṣṭa- : V_1
16*) 1) uragair : V 2) śanaiḥ : B, śibhiḥ V_1 17*) i) sa : ka 18*) vayuḥ prakampitās tatra : kha 2) jātayaḥ : kha.
13) 1) veṣṭitaḥ : B 2) bandhanam : HV_1 ; ne : $V_{2,3}$

21*) H : te Kṛṣṇaṃ sarpapatayo na mamāra ca vīryavān || 14cd ||

14) taṃ tatra patitaṃ dṛṣṭvā
nāgabhoganipīḍitam[1] |
(Bh. 10a)
gopā vrajam upāgatya[2]
cukruśuḥ śokalālasāḥ
|| 18 (17) ||
gopā ūcuḥ

etasmin antare bhītā
gopālāḥ sarva eva te |
krandamānā vrajaṃ jagmur
bāṣpagadgadayā girā || 15 ||

15 *eṣa mohaṃ gataḥ Kṛṣṇo*[1] *magno*[2] *vai Kāliye*[3] *hrade*
bhakṣyate sarparājena tad āgacchata mā ciram[4] || 19 (20), 16 ||

22*) H : Nandagopāya vai kṣipraṃ sabalāya nivedyatām |
eṣa te kṛṣyate Kṛṣṇaḥ[1] sarpeṇeti mahāhrade || 17 ||

16ab) *tacchrutvā* te tadā[1] *gopā*
vajrapātopamaṃ vacaḥ |
20ab (19ab), 18ab

Nandagopas tu tacchrutvā

23*) B, V : gopyaś ca tvaritaṃ jagmur Yaśodāpramukhā hradam[1] |
20cd (19cd)

hā, hā, kvāsāv iti jano gopīnām ativihvalaḥ |
20ab (20ab) (cf. H. 20c)

Yaśodayā samaṃ[3] bhrānto drutaḥ[4] praskhalito[5] yayau
|| 21cd (20cd) ||

24*) H : ārtaḥ skhalitavikrāntas taṃ jagāma hradottaman |
18cd (cf. B 21d)

16cd) *Nandagopaś* ca gopāś ca
(cf. H. 20a, Bh 15)
Rāmaś cādbhutavikramaḥ |
22ab (21ab)

sabālayuvatīvṛddhaḥ
sa ca Saṁkarṣaṇo yuvā | 19ab

25*) B, V : tvaritaṃ Yamunāṃ jagmuḥ Kṛṣṇadarśanalālasāḥ | 22cd (21cd)

26*) H : ākrīḍaṃ pannagendrasya jalasthaṃ samupāgamat || 19cd) ||
Nandagopamukhā gopās te sarve sāśrulocanāḥ |
hāhākāram prakurvantas tasthus tīre hradasya vai || 20 ||
vrīḍitā vismitāś caiva śokārtāś ca punaḥ punaḥ |
kecit tu putra hā heti hā dhig ity apare punaḥ || 21 ||
apare hā hatāḥ smeti rurudur bhṛśaduḥkhitāḥ | 22ab (cd vide infra)

14) 1) sarpa : V_1, Wilson 2) gamya : V
15) 1) Kṛṣṇo gato moha : B 2) ugre : kha (B) 3) ya- : V_1 4) paśyata : V
22*) 1) putraḥ : kha
16) 1) etacchrutvā tato : B, V_2, 4) •taṃ : V 5) tam : V

17) dadṛśuś cāpi te tatra *sarparājavaśaṃ gatam* | niṣprayatnaṃ kṛtaṃ Kṛṣṇam *sarpabhogena* veṣṭitam || 23 (22) (Bh. 10, 19) ||	yā paśyasi priyaṃ putram spanditaṃ sarpabhogena kṛṣyamāṇaṃ yathā mṛtam[2] || 23 |

27*) H : aśmasāramayaṃ nūnaṃ hṛdayaṃ te vilakṣyate |
putraṃ katham imaṃ dṛṣṭvā Yaśode nāvadīryase || 24 ||
duḥkhitaṃ bata paśyāmo Nandagopaṃ hradāntike |25ab

18ab) Nandagopaś ca *niśceṣṭaḥ nyasya puttramukhe dṛśau*[0] | 24ab (23ab) (Bh 11c)	nyasya putramukhe dṛṣṭim niścetanam avas[2]thitam ||25cd|

28*) B, V : Yaśodā ca mahābhāgā babhūva muniṣattama[1] || 24cd (23cd) |

18cd) gopyas tv anyā rudatyaś[3] ca dadṛśuḥ śokakātarāḥ | procuś ca Keśavaṃ prītyā bhayakātaragadgadam[4] || 25 (24) (Bh. 20 sq.) ||	striyaś caiva Yaśodāṃ tām hā hatāsīti cukruśuḥ || 22cd |
19) sarvā *Yaśodayā* sārdham *viśāmo* 'tra mahā*hrade* | nāgarājasya ; *no* gantum asmākaṃ yujyate *vra*je || 26 (25) ||	Yaśodām anugacchantyaḥ sarpāvāsam imaṃ hradam | praviśāmo ; na yāsyāmo vinā[1] Dāmodaraṃ vrajam[2] || 26 |

20) *divasaḥ ko vinā sūryaṃ vinā candreṇa kā niśā* |
vinā vṛṣeṇa[1] *kā gāvo vinā Kṛṣṇena ko vrajaḥ* || 27 (26) (27) ||

vinākṛtā na yāsyāmaḥ kṛṣṇen ānena gokulam || 27ef (27ab) ||	vinā Kṛṣṇaṃ na yāsyāmaḥ vivatsā iva dhenavaḥ || 28ab |

29*) V : araṇyaṃ[1] nātisevyaṃ[2] ca vārihīnaṃ yathā saraḥ || (27cd) ||
yatra nendīvaradalaprakhyakāntir ayaṃ Hariḥ |
tenāpi martyavāsena[3] ratir astīti vismayaḥ || (28) ||
utphullapaṅkajadalaspaṣṭakāntivilocanam |
apaśyanto[4] Hariṃ dīnāḥ kathaṃ goṣṭhe bhaviṣyatha || (29) ||

17) 1) saṃ : kha 2) mṛgam : kha (. tadā : ka) : B 2) iva : kha 3) rudantyaś B 4) kātaryya : V
19) 1) sarvā : kha 2) vinā : kha
20) 1) dugdhena : B (except ga)
23*) 1) drutam : ka 2) eti $V_{2,3}$ 3) sasaṃ. : V
24*) 1) s tvarita : ka, gha
18 1) am : $V_{2,3}$; paśyan putramukhaṃ bhṛśam
28*) 1) māḥ : B
29*) 1) arakṣaṃ : $V_{2,3}$ Wilson 2) hāti : $V_{2,3}$ Wilson 3) mātur : V_1 4) tau

atyanta[5]madhurālāpahṛtāśeṣamanodhanāḥ[6] |
na vinā puṇḍarīkākṣaṃ yāsyāmo Nandagokulam || (30) ||
bhogen āveṣṭitasy āpi sarparājena paśyata |
smitaśobhi mukhaṃ gopyaḥ kṛṣṇasy āsmadvilokane || (31) ||

21) iti gopīvacaḥ *śrutvā*
Rauhiṇeyo mahābalaḥ |
uvāca gopān[1] vidhurān
vilokya stimitekṣaṇaḥ[2]
|| 28 (32) ||

tāsāṃ vilapitaṃ śrutvā
teṣāṃ ca vrajavāsinām |
vilāpaṃ Nandagopasya
Yaśodāruditaṃ tathā[3]
|| 28 ||

22) Nandaṃ ca dīnam atyartham
nyastadṛṣṭiṃ sutānane |
(cf. V 23b)
mūrchākulāṃ Yaśodāṃ ca
Kṛṣṇamāhātmyasaṃjñayā
|| 29 (33) (Bh. 16, 22) ||

ekabhāvaśarīrajñaḥ
ekadeho dvidhākṛtaḥ |

Saṃkarṣaṇas tu saṃkruddho
babhāṣe Kṛṣṇam avyayam
|| 29 ||

30*) B, V : kim ayaṃ[1] devadeveśa bhāvo 'yaṃ mānuṣas tvayā |
vyajyate svaṃ tam[2] ātmānaṃ kiṃ anyaṃ tvaṃ[3] na vetsi yat
|| 30 (34) ||
tvam asya jagato nābhiḥ surāṇām eva cāśrayaḥ[4] |
kartā 'pahartā[5] pātā ca trailokyaṃ[6] tvaṃ trayīmayaḥ ||31 (35)||

31*) V : sendrarudrāśvivasubhir Ādityair Marudagnibhiḥ |
cintyase tvam acintyātman samastaiś caiva yogibhiḥ || (36) ||
jagatyarthaṃ[1] jagannātha bhārāvataraṇecchayā |
avatīrṇo 'tra[2] marttyeṣu tavāṃśaś cāham agrajaḥ || (37) ||
manuṣyalīlām bhagavan bhajatā bhavatā[3] surāḥ |
viḍambayantas tvallīlāṃ sarva eva samāsate[4] || (38) ||
avatārya bhavān pūrvaṃ gokule 'tra surāṅganāḥ |
krīḍārtham ātmanaḥ paścād avatīrṇo 'si śāśvataḥ || (39) ||

23) atr āvatīrṇayoḥ[1] *Kṛṣṇa*
gopā eva hi bāndhavāḥ |
gopyaś ca sīdataḥ kasmāt
tvaṃ[2] *bandhūn* samupekṣase[3]
|| 32 (40) ||

Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa mahābāho
gopānāṃ nandavardhana[4] |
gamyatām eṣa vai kṣipram
sarparājo viṣāyudhaḥ || 30 ||

24) darśito *mānuṣo* bhāvo
darśitaṃ bālaceṣṭitam[1]
tad ayaṃ damyatāṃ Kṛṣṇa
durātmā daśan*āyudhaḥ*
|| 33 (41) (cf. H 30cd)

ime no bāndhavās tāta
tvāṃ matvā mānuṣaṃ vibho |
paridevanti karuṇam
sarve mānuṣabuddhayaḥ
|| 31 ||

Wilson 5) atyarthaṃ : $V_{2,3}$ 6) nam ; $V_{2,3}$ Wilson 21) 1) gopāṃś ca trāsa : V 2) ṇān : kha 3) cd om. ka 30*) 1) atra : $V_{2,3}$; idaṃ : V_1 2) 'tyantam : V 3) anantam : V_1 , ananta : $V_{2,3}$ 4) yoniś caraṇām api saṃ : ka ; nābhir arāṇām iva saṃ : V 5) tā ca : $V_{2,3}$ 6) kye : ka, V, Wilson 31*) 1) rthe : $V_{2,3}$) Wilson 2) 'dya : $V_{2,3}$ 3) bhavato bhajataḥ : $V_{2,3}$ Wilson 4) dā : $V_{2,3}$, 23) 1) rṇā ye : V_1 2) tvad : $V_{2,3}$ 3) ndhūṃs tvam : $V_{2,3}$ 4) di : ka 24) 1) cāpalam : V 25

25) iti saṃsmāritaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ smitabhinnau[1]ṣṭhasampuṭaḥ | *āsphoṭya*[2] mocayām āsa svaṃ[3] dehaṃ *bhogabandha-* *nāt* || 34 (42) (Bh 23) ||	tac chrutvā Rauhiṇeyasya vākyaṃ saṃjñāsamīritam | vikramy[4] āsphoṭayad bāhū bhittvā taṃ bhoga[5]bandhanaṃ || 32 ||

32*) H : tasya padbhyāṁ ath ākramya bhogarāśim jalotthitam |
śiras tu Kṛṣṇo jagrāha 33 abc

26) *ānāmya*[1] cāpi *hastā*bhyām ubhābhyāṃ *madhyamaṃ* phaṇam | *āruh*ya[2] bhugna*śiras*aḥ[4] pra*nanart* oruvikramaḥ || 35 (43) (Bh. 26) ||	svahasten āvanāmya ca | 33d tasy āruroha sahasā madhyamaṃ tan mahac chiraḥ | so ' sya mūrdhnı sthitaḥ Kṛṣṇo nanarta rucirāṅgadaḥ || 34 ||

33*) B, V : vraṇāḥ phaṇe 'bhavaṃs tasya Kṛṣṇasy āṅghrivi[1]kuṭṭanaiḥ |
(cf. Bh. 54d)
yatronnatiṃ ca kurute nanāmāsya tataḥ śiraḥ
|| 36 (44) (Bh. 28ab, 29ab) ||

mūrchām upāyayau[2] bhrāntyā nāgaḥ Kṛṣṇasya kuṭṭanaiḥ[3]
(a : Bh. 54c)
daṇḍa[4]pātanipātena vavāma rudhiraṃ bahu
|| 37 (45) (Bh. 28cd) ||

taṃ nirbhugna[5]śirogrīvam āsyapra[6]srutaśoṇitam
(cf. Bh. 54c ; H 35c)
vilokya śaraṇaṃ jagmus tatpatnyo Madhusūdanam
|| 38 (46) (Bh. 31 sq.) ||

nāgapatnya ūcuḥ
jñāto 'si devadeveśa sarveśas tvam anuttama |
paraṃ jyotir acintyaṃ yat tadaṃśaḥ parameśvaraḥ || 39 (47) ||

na samarthāḥ surā[7] stotuṃ yam ananyabhavaṃ prabhum |
svarūpavarṇanaṃ tasya kathaṃ yoṣit kariṣyati || 40 (48) ||
yasy ākhila[8]mahīvyomajalāgnipavanātmakam
brahmāṇḍam alpakāṃśāṃśaḥ stoṣyāmas taṃ kathaṃ vayam
|| 41 (49) ||

34*) V : yatanto na vidur nityaṃ yatsvarūpam ayoginaḥ |
paramārtham anor alpaṃ sthūlāt sthūlaṃ natāḥ sma tam[1] || (50) ||

1) o : V 2) asphālya : B except kha, ga 3) ṃ om. V 4) krīḍya : ka, kha 5) tannā : H except kha.
27) 1) ānamya : $V_{2,3}$ 2) hyā : Wilson 3) bha : Kha, ga 4), si. ; $V_{2,3}$ Wilson
33*) 1) ni : V_1 2) upe : V 3) reckaiḥ : V, ga 4) ca : 5) bhinna : V_1
6) asyebhyaḥ : V 7 rā : V, Wilson 8) lam ; $V_{2,3}$ 34*) 1) 1) tat : $V_{2,3}$

na yasya janmane dhātā yasya nāntāya cāntakaḥ |
sthitikartā na cānyo 'sti yasya tasmai namaḥ sadā || (51) ||
kopaḥ svalpo 'pi te nāsti kṣiti[2]pālanam eva te |
kāraṇaṃ Kāliyasyāsya damane śrūyatām ataḥ || (52) ||
striyo 'nukampyāḥ sādhūnāṃ mūḍhā dīnāś ca jantavaḥ |
yatas tato 'sya dīnasya kṣamyatāṃ kṣamatāṃ[3] vara || (53) ||
samastajagadādhāro bhavān alpabalaḥ[4] phaṇī |
tvayā ca[5] pīḍito jahyān muhūrttārddhena jīvitam || (54) ||
kva pannago 'lpavīryo 'yaṃ kva bhavān bhuvanāśrayaḥ |
prītidveṣau samotkṛṣṭagocarau ca yato 'vyaya || (55) ||

35*) B, V : tataḥ kuru jagatsvāmin[1] prasādaṃ avasīdataḥ[2] |
prāṇāṃs tyajati nāgo 'yaṃ bhartṛbhikṣā pradīyatām
|| 42 (56) (Bh. 52) ||

27) ity ukte tābhir āśvāsya[1]
*klānta*deho 'pi pannagaḥ |
prasīda devadeveti
prāha *vākyaṃ* śanaiḥśanaiḥ
|| 43 (57) (Bh. 55) ||

mṛdyamānaḥ sa Kṛṣṇena
śāntamūrdhā bhujaṃgamaḥ |
āsyaiḥ sarudhirodgāraiḥ
(B. 38 b)
kātaro vākyam abravīt || 35 ||

36*) B, V : tavāṣṭaguṇam aiśvaryaṃ nātha svābhāvikaṃ param[1]
nirastātiśayaṃ yasya tasya stoṣyāmi kiṃ nv[2] aham || 44 (58) ||
tvaṃ paras tvaṃ parasy ādyaḥ paraṃ tvaṃ tat[3]parātmakam[4] |
parasmāt paramo yas[5] tvaṃ tasya[6] stoṣyāmi kim nv[7] aham
|| 45 (59) ||

37*) V : yasmād Brahmā[1] ca Rudraś ca Candrendramaruto 'śvinau[2] |
Vasavaś ca sahādityais tasya stoṣyāmi kiṃ tv aham || (60) ||
ekāvayavasūkṣmāṃśo yasy aitad akhilaṃ jagat |
kalpanāvayavas tv eṣa taṃ stoṣyāmi kathaṃ[3] tv aham || (61) ||
sadasadrūpiṇo yasya Brahmādyās Tridaśottamāḥ[4] |
paramārthaṃ na jānanti tasya stoṣyāmi kiṃ[5] tv aham || (62) ||
Brahmādyair arcyate divyair yaś ca[6] puṣpānulepanaiḥ
nandanādisamudbhūtaiḥ so 'rcyate vā kathaṃ mayā || (63) ||
yasy āvatārarūpāṇi devarājaḥ sadārcati |
na vetti paramaṃ rūpaṃ so 'rcyate vā kathaṃ mayā || (64) ||
viṣayebhyaḥ samāhṛtya sarvākṣāṇi ca yoginaḥ |
samarcayanti[7] dhyānena so 'rcyate vā kathaṃ mayā || (65) ||

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2) sthi : $V_{2,3}$ Wilson 3) vadatām : $V_{2,3}$ 4) apy aṇḍajaḥ : Wilson 5) tvatpāda : $V_{2,3}$ 35*) 1) kṛpāṃ nātha : ka 2) prasīda śaraṇaṃ bhava : ka
27 1) kāntayā tasya :kha
36*) 1) balam : V_1 2) tv : V.
3) tvattaḥ : V 4) ka : V_1 ,kha :Wilson 5) ojas :kha 6) tata : V_1 7) tv :V
37*) 1) hma : $V_{2,3}$ 2) rudaśvınaḥ : $V_{2,3}$ 3) Kalpanā vayavāṃśa sya tasya stoṣyāmi kiṃ : $V_{2,3}$ 4) śesvaraḥ : $V_{2,3}$ 5) taṃ stosyāmi kathaṃ : V_2, 6) yaś ca divya : $V_{2,3}$ 7) yam : $V_{2,3}$

hṛdi saṃkalpya yadrūpaṃ dhyānen ārccanti yoginaḥ |
bhāvapuṣpādinā[8] nātha so 'rccyate vā kathaṃ mayā || (66) ||
so 'haṃ te devadeveśa nārcanāyāṃ[9] stutau na ca |
sāmarthyavān kṛpāmātramanovṛttiḥ prasīda me || (67) ||
sarpajātir iyaṃ krūrā yasyāṃ jāto 'smi Keśava |
tatsvabhāvo 'yam atrāsti nāparādho mamācyuta ||(68) (Bh. 56)||
sṛjyate bhavatā sarvaṃ[10] tathā saṃhriyate jagat |
jātirūpasvabhāvāś ca sṛjyante jagatāṃ[11] tvayā || (69) (Bh. 57) ||

38*) B, V : yathāhaṃ bhavatā sṛṣṭo jātyā rūpeṇa ceśvara[1] |
svabhāvena ca saṃyuktas tathedaṃ ceṣṭitaṃ mama[2] || 46 (70) ||
yady anyathā pravartteyaṃ devadeva tato mayi |
nyāyyo daṇḍanipāto vai[3] tavaiva vacanaṃ yathā
|| 47 (71) (Bh. 33a) ||
tathāpi yaj[4] jagatsvāmī daṇḍaṃ pātıtavān mayi |
sa soḍho 'yaṃ varaṃ[5] daṇḍas tvatto nānyatra me[6] varaḥ
|| 48 (72) ||

39*) H : avijñānān mayā Kṛṣṇa roṣo 'yaṃ sampradarśitaḥ | 36ab

28) hatavīryo *hataviṣo*	damito 'haṃ hataviṣo
damito 'haṃ tvayācyuta |	vaśagas te varānana || 36cd ||
jīvitaṃ dīyatām ekam (cf. H. 37d)	tadājñāpaya kiṃ kuryām
ājñāpaya karomi *kim* || 49 (73) ||	sadā sāpatyabāndhavaḥ || 37ab ||

40*) H : kasya vā vaśatāṃ yāmi jīvitaṃ me pradīyatām || 37cd ||
pañcamūrdhānataṃ dṛṣṭvā sarpaṃ[1] sarpāriketanaḥ |
akruddha eva Bhagavān pratyuvāc orageśvaram || 38 ||

Śrībhagavān uvāca	
29) *nā*tra *sthe*yaṃ *tva*yā sarpa (Bh. 60a)	tavāsmın Yamunātoye
kadācid *Yamunā*jal*e* |	naiva sthānaṃ dadāmy aham |
*sa*bhṛtyaparivāras[1] tvam (Bh. 60c)	gacch ārṇavajalaṃ sarpa
samudrasalilaṃ vraja || 50 (74) (Bh. 60b) ||	sabhāryaḥ sahabāndhavaḥ || 39 ||

41*) H : yaś ceha bhūyo dṛśyeta sthāne[1] vā yadi vā jale |
tava bhṛtyas tanūjo vā kṣipraṃ vadhyaḥ sa me bhavet || 40 ||
śivaṃ cāsya jalasyāstu tvaṃ ca gaccha mahārṇavam |
sthāne tv iha bhaved doṣas tavāntakaraṇo mahān || 41 ||

8) bhir : $V_{2,3}$ Wilson 9) narcanadau : $V_{2,3}$ 10) pūrvaṃ 11) sṛjatā : $V_{2,3}$
38*) 1) raḥ : B 2) mayā : B, $V_{2,3}$ Wilson 3) pātas te : B $V_{2,3}$ 4) yaṃ : B
5) ro : B, $V_{2,3}$ 6) nānyo 'stu me : B ; me nānyato : $V_{2,3}$, Wilson.
40*) 1) taṃ dṛṣṭvā pañcamūrddhanaṃ sarvaṃ : ka, kha.
29 1) saputra :kha 41*) sthale :kha

30) *matpadāni ca te sarpa dṛṣṭvā mūrdhani*[1] *sāgare*[2] |
Garuḍaḥ pannagaripus tvayi na prahariṣyati || 51 (75), 42 (Bh. 63) ||

42*) B, V : ity uktvā sarparājānaṃ mumoca bhagavān Hariḥ | 52ab (176ab)

31) praṇamya so 'pi *Kṛṣṇāya* *jagāma* payasāṃ nidhim | 52cd (76cd) (Bh. 64-66)	gṛhya mūrdhnā tu caraṇau[1] Kṛṣṇnasy oragapuṃgavaḥ | 43ab
paśyatāṃ sarvabhūt*ānām* sabhṛtyāpatyabāndhavaḥ || 53ab (77ab) (cf. H 37d) ||	paśyatām eva gopānām jagām ādarśanaṃ hradāt || 43cd ||

43*) B, V : samastabhāryāsahitaḥ parityajya svakam hradam || 53cd (77cd) ||

32a) *gate sarpe*[1] pariṣvajya | 54a (17a) (Bh. 17, 13 sq.)	nirjite tu gate sarpe | 44a |

44*) B, V : mṛtaṃ punar iv āgatam |
gopā mūrdhani Govindaṃ siṣicur netrajair jalaiḥ | 54bcd (78bcd)
Kṛṣṇam akliṣṭakarmāṇam | 55a (79a)

45*) H : Kṛṣṇam uttīrya dhiṣṭhitam || 44b ||

32bcd) anye *vismita*cetasah | *tuṣṭuvur* muditā *gopā*	vismitās tuṣṭuvur gopās cakruś caiva pradakṣiṇam || 44cd ||

dṛṣṭvā *śivajalāṃ*[2] nadīm || 55bcd (79bcd) (Bh. 67d) (cf. H. 47a) ||

46*) H : ūcuḥ sarve ca samprītā Nandagopaṃ vanecarāḥ |
dhanyo 'sy anugrihīto 'si yasya te putra īdṛśaḥ || 45 ||
adyaprabhṛti gopānāṃ gavāṃ goṣṭhasya cānagha |
āpatsu śaraṇaṃ Kṛṣṇaḥ prabhuś cāyatalocanaḥ || 46 ||
jātā śivajalā sarvā Yamunā munisevitā |
tīre cāsyāḥ[1] sukham gāvo vicariṣyanti naḥ sadā || 47 ||
vyaktam eva mayaṃ gopā vane[2] yat Kṛṣṇam īdṛśam |
mahadbhūtaṃ na jānīmaś channam agnim iva vraje || 48 ||

33ab) gīyamāno 'tha[1] gopībhis caritaiś[2] cāruceṣṭitaiḥ[3] | 56ab (80ab) ||	evaṃ te vismitāḥ sarve stuvantaḥ Kṛṣṇam avyayam | 49ab

47*) V 2, 3 : sahito Baladevena Nandena ca Yaśodayā |

33cd) saṃ*stū*yamāno *gopā*laiḥ Kṛṣṇo[5] vrajam upāgamat || 56cd (80cd) ||	jagmur gopagaṇā ghoṣam devāś Caitrarathaṃ yathā | 49cd ||

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30) 1) dhasu : H 2) nāgahā : kha (B) 31) 1) vasac tasya : kha 32) 1) tataḥ sarve : V_1 2) kṣubdha : kha (B).

46*) 1) sarvais tīrthaiḥ : ka 2) vane jātā vayam : kha

33) 1) .naḥ sa : V_1 ; ne sa : $V_{2,3}$ 2) ...te : $V_{2,3}$ 3) taḥ : V 4) gopais tu V_1 5) ṛṣṭo : ka, kha.

A HINDI VERSION OF THE STORY OF THE KHARAPUTTA-JĀTAKA

By

BABURAM SAKSENA, Allahabad.

In the Kharaputta Jātaka[1] we have the story of Senaka, king of Benares who, having saved the life of a Nāga king from the onslaughts of village urchins, secured from him a mystic charm by which he could understand the speech of all living beings. Its disclosure to anyone else involved the death of the king. By the power of this charm the king hears the confidential talks of ants and flies and laughs in the presence of the queen. She insists on learning the spell in spite of the king's explaining the situation. The king agrees to impart the charm in the garden where he would end himself by entering fire according to his promise to the Nāga. On the way Sakka shows himself as a goat cohabiting with a she-goat. The king's steeds rebuke the goat for his idiotic and shameless act quite in the open. The goat calls the steeds and the king both great fools. The king seeks for advice from the goat and as a result gives a thorough thrashing to the queen. She gives up her insistence and asks for forgiveness.

A variant of this story is found in a story of the Arabian Nights.[2] Here the talk between the merchant's bull and the ass excites his laughter and his wife insists on knowing the secret charm. And it is by a talk between the dog and the cock which manages fifty hens that the merchant takes the lesson and dissuades his wife from her insistence, with the help of a whip.

BENFEY in the *Orient und Occident,* Vol. II, pp. 133-171 discusses the general question of the history of man's belief in the possibility of understanding bird's and other animal's speech and later cites examples from the folklore literature of some peoples.

The Hindi version that is presented in the following pages for the first time, bears a close resemblance to the story found in the Jātaka. The secret charm is given in both the Pāli and Hindi stories by a serpent, the Nāga, and in both the ant excites the laughter of the king. While in the Pāli version the scene is laid in Benares, in the Hindi version Benares figures as the sacred place where the king desires to leave his body finally. In both it is the goat which teaches a lesson to the king.

1. FAUSBÖLL . *The Jātaka,* Vol. III, pp. 275-281, Eng. rendering in FRANCIS and NEIL'S trans., Vol. III, pp. 174-177. Pāli text also available in Dines ANDERSEN'S *Pāli Reader,* Pt. I, pp. 52-55.

2. Tale of the Bull and the Ass in the Book of a thousand Nights and a Night (BURTON'S trans. Vol. I, pp. 16-23).

The Hindi version, however, introduces interesting changes. Firstly, we have the conception of the goddess of wealth, Māyā alias Lakṣmī. She is nowhere available in the Pāli story. Instead, we have the serpent girl who plays false to the king. The serpent in the Pāli version is nothing but a friend while here in the Hindi story he is treated as deity and is worshipped. He gives the spell to the king as a boon and not as a thing of recompense as in Pāli. The question of touchability or otherwise owing to the superiority or inferiority of caste is foreign to the Pāli story and the pollution of the kitchen is unheard of there.

The Hindi version has been conceived in orthodox Hindu atmosphere—goddess of wealth, caste system with its curse of untouchability, the Nāga worship and the sanctity of Benares as the place most suitable for leaving off the earthly body. With this it throws interesting light on the people and shows considerable divergence from the Buddhistic colour found in the older Indian version.[1]

ek rājā rahaī, khūb rāji kihiṇi. jab unki awardā āi naghicānī tab naukar cākar sab chāṛai lāg. jab naukar cākar kōī nāī rahē tab rājā kamarī ōṛhi kə paharā dēi lāg. dēkhaī kā, māyā nikarī jāī panārā ḍagar. rājā bōlē 'tum kahā̃ jātiu'? kahiṇi ki 'ab rāja ki martukā āi gai hai tau hamahū jāiti hai'. tau māyā rōwaī bahut. tau rājā kahini 'kāhē routī hau?' tau kahiṇi 'rājā acchā rahai. hāi kallhi sā̃pụ āi kə un kā ḍasi lēī, yahai rōiti hai'. tau phiri kahiṇi 'kōī tana se rājā bacihaī'? tau ui bolī̃ ki 'kōī tana se nāī bacihaī. hā̃ ēk bāt hai. jahā̃ sẹ bā̃bī hōi tahā te khūb phūl phulwārī lagāwaī; ḍagar jharāwaī au rāja kẹ palāg tillai rūi ke pahal bichāwaī au atar gulāb khūb chirkāwaī. nā̃dai gaṛawāi kə dūdhụ bharāi dēī. au rāja kẹ palāg kẹ ās pās cāri khambhā kēla ke gaṛāi dēī. au rāja kẹ palka pə bichaunā makhmal kə karāi dēī au sugandhī chiriki dēī. rājā wahē makān mə ēk kōne mə̄ cuppē baiṭhi jāī.

ab sā̃p rāja kə kātai calē. tau waisī dēkhaī phūl, waisī dēkhaī phulwārī, sū̃ghaī au magan hoi jāī. dūdhụ piaī au magan hoi jāī. loṭati pōṭati āē palkā tīr. cāriu khambhā dēkhiṇi, lapati jāī, caṛhaī utaraī baṛē khusī. palkā par caṛhē au lōṭi gayē. māri kə maganai hoi gē. atar sẹ pā̃si gayē. tab kahiṇi 'rāja kə ham kā kāṭī, rājā hamərē sāg bahut acchā kihiṇi. ab rāja kə ham apani ādhī umiri dai dēib'. tau ab rāja kə bolāini. tau rājā nāī āwaī. tau tirbācakụ dihiṇi au kahiṇi 'āi jāu, ab tum kā nāī kaṭibā'. tau rājā āē au pā̃yen giri parē. sā̃p bōlē 'jindagī tau dai cuken. ab jō mā̃gau so dēī'. tau kahiṇi 'ham mā̃giṭi hai ki jettē jiu jantur dhartī par haī unkī bōlī ham pāhicāni jāī.' tau sā̃p bōlē ki 'nāī rājā, phiri pachitaihau.

1. When I read the Kharaputta Jātaka first in 1923, I was reminded of a similar story which I had heard in my boyhood from my mother. I persuaded her to narrate it over once again to me and she kindly did it and I transcribed it verbatim in her own inimitable Awadhi. I kept it back with myself for about thirteen years in the hope that another version might be available. But I have not been able to discover any other version in the libraries either here or in England.

iu kāmu̥ na karau. ī mā tum dhōkhā khāi jaihau. tum sē binā batāyē rahā nāī jāī au jettē khan bataihau ki mari jaihau'. tau rājā bōlē ki 'nāī tum ham kā batāi dēu, ham kōi se̥ nāī bataibā'. sā̃p un kā bōlī batāi kə au acchī tanā khāi pī kai apanī bā̃bi kə calē gayē. ab rājā apan rāji karai lāg. bahut din rāji kihini̥.

tau kuchu din bādi ēk din rājā jē̃wati̥ rahaī tau rāja ki thariya se bhāt ke sīt giri paraī. ēk cē̃ṭī āi kə lai lai jāi. caukā bāher ēku̥ cē̃ṭā rahai. cē̃ṭī jab caukā bāher hōi tau cē̃ṭā chīni lēi. tau ui kahini̥ 'tui kāhē nāī lāwati̥ jāi. ham bēr bēr lāiti hai au bēr bēr tum chīni lēti̥ hau. tum kāhē nāī layāwati̥ jāi hau'. tau cē̃ṭā bōlā ki 'tum hau jāti ki bamhanī au ham han camār. tum jo jaihau tau rāja kə caukā nāī chūti hōī au ham jāib tau rāja kə caukā chūti hoi jāī'. ettā suni kai rājā khakkhā māri kə hāsē. rānī jānini̥ hamərē uppar hāsē. haṭu pari gaī̃ 'ham kā batāi dēu kāhē hāseu. ki ham kā ughārē dekheu ki kuchu bhōjan par hāseu'. rājā kahini̥ 'ham tum par nāī hāsen'. rānī bōlī̃ 'kī par hāseu'? rājā kahini̥ 'bataibā nāī'. rāja ki bāt suni kai rānī kahini̥ ki 'jō nāī bataihau tau ham annu pānī nāī karibā' au laṅghan karai lāgī̃. tau rājā kahini̥ ki 'ham tau nāg bāba kə bacanu̥ dihen rahai ki̥ nāī bataibā. kahini̥ rahai, bataihau tau mari jaihau. acchā jo nāī mantī hau tau calau kāsi mə batāī cali kai. lekin pachitaihau ū'.

dūnau hūa te̥ calē. calti calti jab ēk maijil hoi gai tau rājā bōlē 'rānī hīā annu pānī kai leu, nahāi dhōi leu'. iu kahi kai rājā wahē tīr ṭahalai lāg. tau ēku̥ bakarā kūa ke̥ uppar ṭhāṛh rahai au bhītar ēk chagariā rahai, wā dūb nōci nōci uppar āwai tau bakarā chīni lēi. tau chagariā bōlī 'ham sē bēr bēr chīni lēti̥ hau tum bhītar jāi kə kāhē nāī layāwati̥ hau'? tau bakarā bōlā ki 'jō ham bhītar jāī tau kō jānai giri parī. tui jo giri parihai tau ham kā chagariā bahutai'. rājā sunaī. 'kā ham kā ṭāṭṭūri kə rājā banāyē hai jo meherua ke pāchē jāti haī kāsi kə marai'. rājā ṭhāṛh sunaī. rājā suni kai lihini̥ ēk chaṛī au lai kai mārai lāg rāni kə bolāi kə ki 'aur haṭu karihau aur pūchihau'. rānī gaū bōlī̃ tab chāṛini̥. dūnau janē ghar kā lauṭē au rāji karai lāg. jais un kē din bahurē tais sab kē bahuraī.

TRANSLATION

There was a king, he ruled well and long. When his life-span came near (ending), the servants and attendants began to leave. When the servants and attendants none remained, the king with his blanket on, began to guard (the palace). What does he see? (He sees) that Māyā (the goddess of wealth) was going out through the drain. The king said : 'Where are you going? (She) said : 'Now that the king's death is come, I also am going'. And Māyā wept much. Then the king said : 'Why are you weeping?' Then (she) said: 'The king was good. Alas, the serpent will come and bite him to-morrow, this I weep for.' At that (he) said again : 'Will the king be saved by any means?' Then she said : 'No means will save him. But there is one thing. (He) should plant flower (-plants) and groves in large number from the place where the ant-hill may be ; get the way brushed and spread pads of cotton-wool right up to the bed-stead of the king and sprinkle essences and

rose-water abundantly. Let him get tubs fixed up and have them filled up with milk. And let him get four plaintain-stalks fixed around the king's bed. And let beds of velvet be spread on the king's bed-stead and scents be sprinkled. The king should sit quietly in a corner of that very house.'

Now the serpent started to bite the king. Then he sees flowers on one side and flower groves on the other, he smells and becomes full of joy. (He) drinks milk and becomes pleased. Lying and rolling he came near the bed. (He) saw the four stumps, embraces them and climbs over them and comes down (and was) very pleased. He mounted the bed and rolled over it. (He) became very much full of joy. (He) became saturated with essences. Then (he) said : 'Shall I bite the king? The king has done very good turns towards me. I shall now give half of my life to the king.' At that he called the king now. And the king would not come. And then (he) gave a word thrice to the king and said : 'Do come. I shall not bite you now.' Then the king came and fell at his feet. The serpent spoke : 'Life I have already given. Whatever you may ask further, I shall give you.' And (the king) said : 'I ask that I may be able to recognise the speech of all the living beings that there may be on the earth.' Then the serpent said : 'O king, No, (not that) ; you will feel sorry for it later. Do not do this. You will come to a loss in this. You will not be able to resist telling it and as soon as you tell of it you will die.' Then the king spoke : 'No, tell it to me. I shall not speak of it to anybody'. The serpent told him (the secret of all) speech and ate and drank very well and then went to his ant-hill. Now the king began to rule his kingdom. (He) ruled for long.

Then after a few days, once when the king was eating his food, grains of rice fall down from his vessel. An ant comes and takes them away. There was a male ant outside the enclosure (of the kitchen and the dining-place). When the she-ant would go out of the enclosure the male ant would snatch away (the grains). Then she said : 'Why don't you fetch (them)? I bring them again and again and again and again you snatch them off. Why don't you yourself go and bring them?' At that the male ant spoke : 'You are a Brahmin by caste and I a Chamar. If you will go, the king's enclosure will not be rendered unclean (but) if I go it will become unclean.' On hearing this the king laughed a loud laughter. The queen thought that (he) laughed at her. (She) became insistent (saying) : 'Tell me why you laughed. Did you see me uncovered or did you laugh at the meal?' The king said 'I did not laugh at you.' The queen asked : 'At whom did you laugh?' The king said : 'I shall not tell'. On hearing the king's words, the queen said : 'If you will not tell me, I shall give up food and drink' and she began to fast. Then the king said : 'I gave a word to venerable serpent that I shall not tell of it to any one. He had said, if you tell, you will die. Well if you do not agree, let us go to Benares, there I shall tell you. But you will be sorry for it.'

Both started from there. After journeying when one stage was reached, the king said : 'O Queen, eat and drink here, wash and bathe!' Having said

this, the king began to walk over there. There was a goat standing on the well and there was a she-goat inside it. She would uproot the grass and (with it) would come out. Then the goat would seize it. Then the she-goat said : 'You snatch it again and again from me. Why don't you go and bring yourself?' At that the goat said : 'If I go inside, who knows, I may fall down. If you fall down, I have many goats (to replace you).' The king was hearing. 'Have you, putting me off, thought me to be the king who is going to Benares to die, on account of a woman.' The king stood there and listened. Having heard (this), he took a staff and having called the queen began to beat her, (saying): 'Will you insist further and ask'. (He) left her only when she prayed for forgiveness. Both of them returned home and began to rule.

May every one's good days return as did theirs.

DID TULUVA REVOLT AFTER THE BATTLE OF RĀKṢASA-TAṄGAḌI ?

By

B. A. SALETORE, Poona.

While discussing the effect of the Battle of Rākṣasa-Taṅgaḍi on the life of the Vijayanagara Empire, I ventured to assert in my work on *The Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, that one of those who had rebelled against the Vijayanagara Emperor was the Kalaśa-Kārkaḷa ruler.[1] This was because I had followed the assertions of the Rev. Henry HERAS who, in his *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, writes :—"Perhaps the only one who withdrew his allegiance in the South was the chief of Kalasa-Karkala, South Kanara ; although it appears provable that he already enjoyed some sort of independence ever since the time of the overthrow of the Saluva family."[2] The Rev. HERAS himself has but followed the late Mr. Krishna SASTRI who, in his article on *The Kārkaḷa Inscription of Bhairava II*, asserts the following :—"The memorable battle of Tāḷikōṭā dealt the death-blow to the Vijayanagara Empire, and the Kalaśa-Kārkaḷa chiefs were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity to openly assert their independence. Accordingly in a Koppa inscription (Kp. 57) dated in the Śaka-Saṁvat 1510 (= A.D 1588-89) Bhayirarasa-Voḍeya, son of Vīra Gummaṭa-dēvi, who is no doubt identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription, is represented as ruling his kingdom undisturbed (*sthira-sāmrājya*). The subjoined Caturmukha-basti inscription of this chief (Bhairava II.), which is dated two years earlier, contains a long string of high sounding *birudas*, and this fact may be taken to show that Bhairava II, had then already declared his independence. But this state of things did not continue long ; for in Śaka 1531 (= A.D. 1609-10), Bhayirarasa-Voḍeya, the son of Vīra Bhayirarasa-Odeya, was ruling the Kalaśa Kārkaḷa-rājya as a feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Venkaṭa I (Mg. 63) ".[3] All these assertions are to be rectified in the light of the inscriptions from Tuḷuva published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Volume VII,[4] the existence of which I was aware of only long after my work had been published.

Even on the strength of the Kārkaḷa inscription of Bhairava II itself, we may assert that that ruler did not revolt against the Vijayanagara Emperor.

1. SALETORE, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 138, 308.

2. Henry HERAS, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 243, and *ibid* n. 5 where the reference is wrongly given to Krishna SASTRY, *Indian Antiquary*, VIII, p. 127, when it ought to be *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, 122-138.

3. Krishna SASTRI, *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, Kārkala Inscription of Bhairava II., p. 127.

4. Edited by K. V. Subrahmanya AIYAR, B.A. Madras, 1933.

The late Mr. Krishna SASTRI himself seemed to confess this in his statement quoted above. The inscription in question merely says that Bhairava II. "while ruling the kingdom with true joy (*nija saṁtōṣadim*[*da*] *rājyavam āḷuvāga*)" gave a grant to the Chaturmukhabasti at Kārkaḷa.[1] It may be questioned whether the interpretation given by the late Mr. SASTRI, viz., "ruling the kingdom undisturbed," can be accepted at all. The phrase "*sthira-rājyam*," as is well known to students of Karnāṭaka history, means, in most instances, "a firm kingdom." Unless otherwise stated, this particular expression does not refer to independence.

When we examine a few of the inscriptions found in Tuḷuva, we see the futility of asserting that that province revolted after the memorable battle of Rākṣasa-Taṅgaḍi. In the first place, the Kalaśa-Kārkaḷa kingdom by no means represented the Tuḷuva principality. The Vijayanagara governors are generally represented as governing from their provincial seat Bārakūru. Inscriptions found in this old centre as well as in its neighbourhood, and in one or two towns of ancient repute, enable us to assert that Tuḷuva, far from revolting soon after the Battle of Rākṣasa-Taṅgadi, continued to be loyal to the Vijayanagara Emperor almost down to the last days of the Empire. A record found in the Kōṭēśvara Temple at Kōṭeśvara, Condapoor Tāluka, dated Śaka 1484, Dundubhi, Caitra, Śu. 10 (= A.D. 1562, March 15th Sunday) relates that while Sadāśiva Rāya was ruling from Vijayanagara, Sadāśiva Nāyaka (of Keladi) was administering the Tuḷu-rājya and Yellapa Oḍeya was governing Bārakūru. On this occasion a certain Jiṣṇu (Visṇu) Śeṭṭi, son of Gaṇapo Śeṭṭi of Basarūru, granted specified land on the occasion of Śivarātri to the god Kōtēśvara of the Kōtēśvara temple.[2] An earlier record dated Śaka 1468 Parābhava (= A.D. 1546, November 7th, Sunday) states that Sadāśiva Rāya had bestowed the rulership of Bārkūru-rājya upon Veṅkaṭādrirāja, who, in his turn, gave it to Acappa Oḍeya. The same stone inscription recording another grant datéd only in the cyclic year Virodhikrit, Vaiśākha Śu. 5; but assignable to the year A.D. (1551, April 11th, Sunday) supplies us with the interesting information that while the Muhammadan Viceroy Yēkhdharakhāna Voḍeyaru was governing the Bārakūru-rājya, (he) made a gift of gold for the purpose of reconsecrating the god Kōṭēśvara (of Kundukura) and the temple as the worship of the god had been stopped for six months on account of the impurity caused by the killing of cows and the death of men in a riot in the temple premises.[3] Another epigraph dated Śaka 1485 Dundubhi, Jyēṣṭha, Śu. 7 (= A.D. 1562, May 10, Sunday), found in the Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa temple at Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Condapoor tāluka, relates that while Sadāśiva Rāya was ruling from Vijayanagara, a *maṭha* for Virūpākṣadēva and his disciples was built at Śankaranārāyaṇa which is referred to in the inscription as a sacred place in the Tuḷu-rājya. We are further informed in

1. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 132, l. 23.
2. 385 of 1927; SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, *An Indian Ephemeris, V*, p. 326.
3. 373 of 1927 found in the Kōteśvara temple at Kōṭeśvara, Coondapoor Tāluka; SWAMIKANNU, *ibid.*, V, pp. 295, 304.

the record that a gift of land for the maintenance of the *maṭha*, after purchasing it from a certain Kēśava Hebbāruva, was made by Sadāśiva Rāya Nāyaka of Keḷadi for the merit of his parents Caṇḍaguṇḍa and Virūpāṁbikā. This Keḷadi governor is said to be the ruler of Āraga, Gutti 36, the Tuḷurājya, Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru.[1]

Excepting in the above record which mentions clearly the Tuḷu-rājya as distinct from Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru, the two provincial seats of the Vijayanagara rulers in Tuluva, we have in all other epigraphs mentioned above the fact that the Vijayanagara governor was placed over Bārakūru. Sadāśiva Rāya Nāyaka, we may be permitted to narrate, continued to govern the Tuḷurājya as is evident from an inscription dated Śaka 1485, Dundubhi, Śravana Śu 1 ; Thursday (= A.D. 1562, July 2nd, Thursday), found at Kumbhakāsi, near the Harihara temple, Condapoor tāluka. This inscription affirms that when Sadāśiva Rāya was ruling from the capital at Vijayanagara, the princes Rāmarāja and Veṅkaṭādrirāja bestowed the government of the Tuḷurājya upon Sadāśiva Rāya Nāyaka of Keḷadi, and that the latter appointed Yellappa Oḍeyar as the governor over Bārakuru-rājya. This governor gave specified lands to Mahālinga Sēnabōva of Chōḷiyakēri, for the increase of the health and prosperity of the king Sadāśiva Rāya and of Sadāśiva Nāyaka, and for maintaining a *satra* attached to the temples of Umāmahēśvara and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa at Kumbhakāśi[2]. In another epigraph which may be assigned also to the same year (A.D. 1562), the same governor is mentioned as ruling over Bārakūru. This inscription informs us that while the Mahārājādhirāja (with other titles) Sadāśiva Rāya was ruling from the throne at Vijayanagari, and the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Venkatādri Mahā-arasu was looking after all the kingdom (*sakala rājyavanu pratipālisutihalli*), and when Bārakūra-rājya had devolved upon Sadāśiva Rāya Nāyaka, that Sādaśiva Rāya Nāyaka bestowed the governorship of Bārakūru upon Kale Yellappa Oḍeyar—who is evidently the same official referred to above—, and a grant was made by a woman named Sanku Bāle.[3]

We may be permitted to digress a little in order to show how even in the year when the Battle of Rākṣasa Taṅgaḍi is supposed to have been fought (A.D. 1565), certain provinces of the Empire cherished the memory of the venerable Sadāśiva Rāya. An inscription dated Śaka 1487 (A. D. 1565-6) found in the Penugonda fort, Anantpur District, relates how when the Mahārājādhirāja (with other titles) Sadāśiva Rāya was seated on his diamond throne (*ratna-siṁhāsanarūḍhulu*), ruling the firm kingdom of the world (*prithvi sthira-sāmbrājyam cēyacuṇḍugānu*), the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara

1. 397 of 1927-8 ; *Ep. Report for the Southern Circle for 1927-8*, p. 47.
2. 387 of 1927 ; *Ep. Report for 1926-7*, p. 68.
3. This grant is dated Śaka varuṣa 1486 neya Dundubhi Samvatsara. But the cyclic year does not correspond. Śaka 1486 = Raktākṣi, and Dundubhi corresponds to Śaka 1484. *168 of 1901* ; *South Indian Inscriptions*, VII, No. 366 pp. 222-3 ; SWĀMIKANNU, *ibid*, V, pp. 326-330.

Rāma Rāju Tirumala Rājayya's son Rāma Rāju gave a *dāna-patra-śāsana* (specified in detail).[1]

The identity of interest between the Telugu governors and the Vijayanagara Emperor as given in the above record is also clearly indicated in the inscriptions found in Tuḷuva. In fact we may even go to the extent of stating that in spite of the overwhelming disaster which overtook the Vijayanagara Emperor on the battlefield of Rākṣasa Taṅgaḍi, Tuḷuva continued to acknowledge Sadāśiva Rāya as its over-lord. An inscription found in the Pañcaliṅgēśvara temple at Bārakūru, dated Śaka 1490 *sanda varttamāna Śukla-saṁvatsarada Kārtika Śu[d]dha 12 Sōmavara,*[2] informs us that when the Mahārājādhirāja (with other title) Sadāśiva Rāya was governing from Vijayanagara (*Vijayanagarada siṁhāsanadiṁ pratipālisuva kāladiṁ*), (and when) by his order Daḷavāyi Lingarasa Oḍeyar was ruling over the Bārakūru kingdom, a citizen named Tiruma Śeṭṭi (descent stated) gave a specified grant of land to the Pañcalingēśvara temple situated in Kōṭēśri at Bārakūru.[3]

To the Tuḷu people the association of the name of the same Emperor with the once-glorious capital Vijayanagara came as a matter of habit. The fact that the capital of the Empire had been shifted to other centres did not come in their way of asserting that Sadāśiva Rāya continued to rule from the old capital. This may perhaps account for the name of the City of Victory in the above grant as well as in the following one. This epigraph is dated A.D. 1570. It was found at Hosakēri at Bārakūru. It registers a grant of land (specified) to the god Sōmanātha by Timme Śeṭṭi, when the Mahārājādhirāja (with other titles) Sadāśiva Rāya was ruling the Vijayanagara kingdom (*Sadāśiva Mahārāyaru Vijayanagariya rājyābhyuda[ya]lu*), and when Sankaṇṇa Nāyaka was governing the Bārakūru-rājya.[4]

Another record dated A.D. 1585-6 relates that when the same Emperor was protecting all the *varṇāśramas* from the throne at Vijayanagari (*Vijayanagariya siṁhāsanadalli kuḷitu sakala va[r]ṇāśrama dharmmaṅgaḷannu pratipālisuva kāladalli*),—and when Acappa Oḍeyar was governing the Bārakūru kingdom under Rāma Rāja Nāyaka, grandson of Keḷadi Sadāśiva Rayā Nāyaka, by order of Sadāśiva Rāya (*a-mahārāyara nirūpadiṅda Keḷadi Sadāśiva Rāya Nāyakara mommaga Rāmarājara nirūpadinda Bārakūru-rājya-*

1. *333 of 1901*, *S. I. I.*, VII, No. 560, p. 333. See also *334 of 1401; ibid*, No. 561, p. ibid; *337 of 1901*; *ibid*, No. 564, p. 335.

2. This corresponds A.D. 1569, October 21st Friday. But the week day does not correspond. SWAMIKANNU, *ibid.*, V, p. 341.

3. *181 of 1901*; *S. I. I.*, VII, No. 386, p. 242.

4. *181 of 1901*: *S. I. I.* ibid, No. 389, p. 245. The date given is *Śaka 1491 Śukla-saṁvatsarada sanda ye(e)raḍaneya Pramōda-saṁvatsaradha besge tingalu* etc. Śaka 1492 = Pramōda. The other details are inadequate for the verification of the date. SWAMIKANNU, ibid, V, 342. Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya is also mentioned in a grant dated Śaka 1497 (= A.D. 1576) found in the Ranganatha temple at Kōviladi, Tanjore District. *273 of 1901*; *S. I. I.*, ibid, No. 489, p. 363.

vannu Acappa Oḍeyaru pratipālisuva kāladalu), a grant (specified in detail) was made in the presence of the god Sōmanātha of Mūrukēri.[1]

There is one more record of that same monarch also found in Bārakūru. It is dated A.D. 1587, and it relates that when (with titles) Sadāśiva Rāya was on the throne of Vijayanagara, listening to the pleasant stories of *dharma* in his audience hall, and when by his order Kancappa Oḍeyar was governing the Bārakūru kingdom, Sannaṇa Seṭṭi (descent stated) made a grant (specified in detail) to the god Sōmanātha of Mūrukēri.[2] We know of course that Sadāśiva Rāya in A.D. 1587 could not have been listening to the pleasant stories of *dharma* in the old city of Vijayanagara. But we may nevertheless give some credit to this epigraph which, in spite of the impossibility of Sadāśiva Rāya's having been in the audience hall in that year, adds to the evidence which other records found in Tuḷuva conjointly affirm, *viz.*, that before and after the battle of Rākṣasa Taṅgadi, the authority exercised by the Vijayanagara Government was so powerful as not to permit the Tuḷuva governors to proclaim their independence.

This is conclusively proved by the events that took place in the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Rāya. A record dated wrongly in Śaka 1522 Kīlaka, Caitra Śu. 1, but assignable to the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Rāya, found in Basarūru, Condapoor tāluka, registers a grant of land by a certain Ajja Nāraṇa Seṭṭi for the maintenance of a *maṭha* built by him at Paḍuvakēri.[3]

There is another inscription—and a more trustworthy and interesting one —found in the Śrī Kṛṣṇa temple at Uḍipi, which not only confirms the evidence supplied by earlier records, *viz.*, that Tuḷuva was entrusted to the charge of the Keḷadi chieftains by the Vijayanagara rulers, but also gives us an insight into the manner in which State officials took a keen interest in the welfare of the religious institutions under their charge. This inscription informs us that when the Mahārājadhirāja (with other titles) Venkaṭapati Dēva Rāya was ruling from Penugoṇḍa, and when under orders from him Keḷadi Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka was governing justly the Tuḷu and Male kingdoms (*Keḷadi Veṅkatapa Nāya karu Tuḷu-rājya Male-rājyavanu sat-dharmadinda āḷuva kāladalli*), Śrimat Vēda-Vēda Tirtha, desciple of (with title) the teacher Śrīmat Vādirāja Tīrtha,

1. *131 of 1901*; *S. I. I.*, VII, No. 321, p. 170. This grant is dated *Śaka varusa 1507* [*y*] *ēḷaneya sandu* [*y*] *enṭaneya varttamāna Pārthiva Saṁvatsarada Kārtika Śu.* (2). The cyclic year for Śaka 1508 was Vyaya. The date may correspond to A.D. 1586 October 14th Friday. The cyclic year for Śaka 1507 was Pārthiva. SWAMIKANNU, *ibid*, V, pp. 372, 375.

2. *140 of 1901*; *S. I. I. ibid.*, No. 331, p. 181. The grant is dated *Śaka varuṣa 150*(*8*) *sandu varttamāna Sarvajitu saṁvatcha*(*sa*) *rada charyitra* (*chaitra*)*su*(*d*) *dha 3 Guru 30 ge. mahā nakṣatradalu 29 Nitya-nakṣatra. Citre 46 Aindra Yōga* etc. It corresponds to A.D. 1587, April 1st Saturday. SWAMIKANNU, *ibid.*, III, p. 376. I am unable to verify the other details.

3. *434 of 1927-8*. The cyclic year Kīlaka does not correspond to Śaka 1522, the cyclic year of which was Śarvaṛi, but to Śaka 1530. If this is accepted, then the date may correspond to A.D. 1608, March 7th, Monday. SWAMIKANNU, *ibid* VI, p. 187.

in the course of his *pūjā-paryāya* of the god Kṛṣṇa, had the roof of the *maṭha* covered with copper and a *kalaśa* fixed. (At this juncture) with the knowledge (permission) of the governor of Bārakūru Rāmakṛṣṇa Oḍeya, (who was) the son of the officer of the gold treasury of Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka Obarasaya, on that *tithi*, according to the usual rites, re-consecrated the image of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. On that occasion under orders from the Emperor Veṅkaṭapati Dēva, Kaḷadi Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka gave for the daily offerings and ceremonies of the god Śrī Kṛṣṇa specified land in the forty-four *nāḍus* within the jurisdiction of the kingdom of Bārakuru.[1] These instances of royal and private bountry, therefore, clearly prove that from the times of Sadāśiva Rāya till the days of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Raya Tuḷuva remained loyal under the banner of Vijayanagara.[2]

1. *110 of 1901* ; *S. I. I.* VII, No. 297, pp. 148-9.

2. We may note in this connection that a copper plate grant found in the Subrahmanya temple at Kukke, South Kanara and which is dated Śaka 1588 Viśvāvasu, Caitra Śu. 1 (= A.D. 1665, March 7th Tuesday) of the time of Śrī Raṅga Rāya Dēva, ruling from Vēlāpuri, refers to Āravīṭi Raṅgapa Rājayya and Gōpālarājayya of Sōmavaṁśa, the grand father and father respectively of the king, and records that on behalf of the king, Raghu Nāyaka, son of Narasaṇṇa Nāyaka and grandson of Rāyasam Tirumalayya, granted the village of Kōgaravalli in Bēlūrasthaḷa for the feeding to be conducted in the temple of Subrahmanya at Kukke, South Kanara. *C. P. 8 of 1927-8.* We know that in A.D. 1646 Ranga Rāya took refuge at the Ikkeri Court. Since we are in the dark as to the events that transpired in and after A.D. 1646, we may merely note the contents of this grant reserving our judgment for a later date.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GIRĀSSIAS AND THE MARĀṬHĀS

By
R. N. SALETORE, Bombay.

An attempt is made in this paper to trace the relations between the Girāssias and the Marāṭhās from the times of the Sultans of Gujarat in A.D. 1519 down to the early days of the nineteenth century. In this connection it is necessary to know the antecedents of these people called the Girāssias, and the reason why they leapt into prominence especially in the politics of Gujarat during the sixteenth century.

THE GIRĀSSIAS IN GUJARAT

A Muslim historian like Firistha referring to the Girāssias grouped them together with Koḷis, as both of these tribes often joined hands and attacked the forces of the Moghuls. Such skirmishes must have prevailed for a considerable time and they evidently came to a head in the eventful year A.D. 1519. This year was eventful in the reign of Sultan Muzaffar II especially because the Girāssias openly raised the standard of rebellion and allied themselves with the Hindu ruler of Chittor, Rāṇa Śanka, (Sangrama) who invaded the territories of this sultan of Gujarat. From the testimony of Firishta himself it may be seen how, before these Girāssias combined themselves with the forces of Rāṇa Śanka, they had actually stirred a rebellion in the vicinity of Ahmadabad. Whether or not such a procedure was instigated by any previous understanding with the expected invader, Rāṇa Śanka, it is not possible to decide, owing to the absence of reliable evidence to support such a conclusion. Nevertheless, it is true that the Girāssias revolted and a little later eventually, with the assistance of Rāṇa Śanka, wrought havoc in Ahmadnagar, "Burnuggur and Beesulunuggur" (Vadnagar and Visnagar). How they managed to effect such an alliance is best related by Firishta who says : "The king (Muzaffar II) having left Kowam-ool-Moolk at Ahmadabad to act against the Girāssia chiefs in that vicinity, marched to Champanere on his way to Malwa. Rana Śanka arrived at Bagry (Bākor), where he was joined by the raja of that province, who owed allegiance to the crown of Guzarat. Both the Hindoo princes proceeded to Doongurpoor, when Moorbariz-ool-Moolk thought it necessary to write to court for reinforcements. Some individuals about the king inimical to Moobariz-ool-Moolk represented that he had wantonly drawn upon himself the vengeance of Rana Śanka and that he was now so alarmed as to apply for aid even before he was attacked. The king in consequence suspended the march of any troops to assist them till after the rains ; and Moobariz-ool-Moolk, having called a council of war, evacuated Idur, and retreated to Ahmad-

nuggur. On the next day Rana Śanka arrived, and was joined by several Girāssia chiefs who had fled from Kowam-ool-Moolk. These assured him that Moobariz-ool-Moolk was not a person likely to fly without opposition ; but that his own opinion had been overruled by his officers, who recommended him to fall back on Ahmudnuggur, where he was expected to obtain reinforcements ; on which the Rana marched towards that place. Moobariz-ool-Moolk, hearing that he was in pursuit, and had sworn that he would not take rest till his horse drank out of the ditch of Ahmudnaggur, resolved to make a desperate stand, and, undaunted by the superiority of the enemy's numbers, drew his small party out in front of the walls of the town, on the opposite bank of the river. The Rana's army, which exceeded that of the Mahommadans as ten to one, not only received the Guzeratties with great steadiness, but charged in the most gallant manner. Asud Khan and many other officers were killed ; and Safdar Khan and Moobariz-ool-Moolk being severely wounded, the King's army was compelled to retreat to Ahmedabad, leaving Rana Śanka to plunder the surrounding country. At Burnuggur, the Rana finding the inhabitants to be chiefly Brahmins, exempted them from pecuniary exactions. The Rana then proceeded to Bessulnuggur, where he was gallantly opposed by the governor, Mullik Hatim who lost his life in its defence. Having thus successfully plundered the country, the Rana returned, unopposed to Chittor. The King, during this time, was on the Malwa frontier ; but Kowan-ool-Moolk, the viceroy of Guzerat, placed a respectable force at the disposal of Moobariz-ool-Moolk, and enabled him to return to Ahmudnuggar. On the march hither, he was opposed by a body of Kolies and Girāssias from the Idur district, who were defeated and sixtyone Girāssias killed."[1] From this rather lengthy account of the invasion of the Gujarat territories of Muzaffar II by Rāṇa Śanka, it may be inferred that, first, the Girāssias and Koḷis were generally grouped together as belonging more or less to one type of people ; secondly the Girāssias had their own chiefs like the Bhils or the Koḷis or better like the Beḍars who established fairly large principalities which endured for nearly two centuries ; thirdly, they assisted Hindu rulers in fighting against their Muslim adversaries ; fourthly they participated in expeditions of plunder and pillage and lastly they lived in the vicinities of Ahmadnagar, Ahmadabad, Idar and the neighbouring districts.

Now whether or not this account of Firishta is reliable should next be discussed. That the sum and substance of Firishta's narrative is substantially correct can be made out when it is compared with the details of this campaign as given, for example, in the *Mīrati Sikandarī*, ascribed to Sikandar, the son of Manjhu Gujarati. This is because there are certain differences in the two accounts given by these two historians. For instance, Firishta says that this invasion of Rāṇa Śanka took place in A.D. 1519 while

1. Firishta, *History of the Rise of Muhamedan Power in India*, IV, pp. 89-90. (BRIGGS)

Note : Rāṇa Sañka was the famous Rāna Sangrama Singh of Mewar. In this connection see *Cambridge History of India* III, pp. 319-20.

Sikandar observes that it occurred in A.D. 1524. Firishta calls the Gujarat Viceroy Kowam-ool-Moolk while Sikandar styles him as Kiwamul-Mulk. Besides even these apparently trifling differences, contradictions more serious can also be discovered.[1]

Sikandar, the chronicler, tells us how the Girāssias induced the Rāṇa to raid Waḍnagar, when he was camping near Ahmadnagar. He relates: "The Gujarat Girāṣṣias who were with the Raṇa said: "If you do not choose to go to Ahmedabad, Waḍnagar is near at hand, you should take it and return. The inhabitants of Waḍnagar are merchants and have much gold, so your army will return laden with much booty."[2] The Rāṇa apparently followed this advice and turned his forces towards that town. The Brahmins of Wadnagar were however spared from slaughter, though not from taxation, for as Sikandar says, the Rāṇa after "taking from them some tribute" departed thence, encamped near and attacked Bisanagar and Vissālnagar and returned via Idar to his own country.[3]

AN ATTEMPT TO EXTERMINATE THE GIRĀSSIAS

The Girāssias must have continued to be a turbulent people in Gujarat until the advent of the Sultan Mahmud III. This sovereign, towards the latter half of the sixteenth century, (viz. from A.D. 1546-1553) made a serious attempt to stamp out their atrocities. This decision, however, came to a crisis in a rather strange way. Mahmud III aspired to conquer Malwa and he conferred about this matter with his *vazīr* Asaf Khan. This prime minister offered him the following advice: "I shall show you how to come by a country not less possibly, but more important than Malwa. The fourth part of your proper dominions is enjoyed under the name of *Wanta* by Rajput Girāssias (or land holders). These estates comprise lands which can support a standing army of 25,000 horse. These lands if resumed from the Rajputs, would increase the army and bring the conquest of Malwa within the range of easy feasibility." The Sultan listened to his counsel and began to attend to the Giras Jagirs. The Girāssias of Idar and Sirohi, Dungarpur, Buswara, Lunwar, Rajpipla, and the banks of the Mahi and Dohad, betaking themselves to the villages of the frontier commenced to disturb the country. The Sultan began to strengthen the frontier posts by establishing one at Sirohi, another at Idar, at the places named. In a short time neither name nor sign of Koli or Rajput remained in the country, except those that actually worked at the plough, and these too were known by being branded on the right arm, and if any Rajput or Koli was found without the brand-mark he was killed"[4]

It is interesting at this stage to note that there was obviously a change in the policy meted out towards the Girāssias. First, the fact comes to light

1. Sikandar, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 108. (Fazullah Lutfullah FARIDI) 1901 ed.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

that the Girāssias were a landed class during the reign of Mahmud III. This presupposes that they must have been granted plots of land, evidently by the Muslim sultans, to wean them of their nefarious habits of plunder and devastation. Such a measure, if it was actually granted, could not have been strange because the Marāṭha rulers, when dealing with the equally troublesome Bhils, entrusted them with the duties of policing some villages together with certain other rights in them. Moreover these Bhils, were also disarmed and had to wear badges of lac (*lākhāce lakoṭe*) in order to be distinguished from their lawless companions.[1]

The Sultan of Gujarat, at least in this instance, went a step further and inflicted a number of indignites upon his Hindu subjects. The Girāssias, who had been deprived of their lands and homes and had been driven to the frontiers of the kingdom during the reign of Sultan Mahmud III, could not certainly have been exempted from the oppressive measures imposed on all his Hindu subjects. Among these were, first, that no Hindu could ride on horse-back in the city, secondly, the dress of a Hindu was not complete without his binding a piece of red cloth round his sleeve, thirdly, Hindu usages and customs like "the obscene rites of Holi, the evil ceremonies of the Divali and the worship of idols could not be practised openly."[2]

Such a ruthless policy brought about neither the complete annihilation of the Girāssias, as has been vouched for by the historian Sikandar, nor could the Sultan Mahmud III even eventually succeed in finally reclaiming for himself or for his Muslim subjects the lands once occupied by the Girāssias. This can be inferred from the fact that, during the year of the death of Mahmud III A.D. 1554, the Girāssias were, at least according to the testimony of Sikandar himself, not only active as a turbulent people but they dared to the sacrilege of openly worshipping the murderer of the sultan Mahmud III, "the vile Burhan" in the form of an image. The Girāssias would not certainly have gone to the length of such hero-worship, if Burhan had not been their patron, in those days of their adversity when the Sultan himself had done his best to stamp out their existence as a political force. Consequently observes Sikandar, "After the martyrdom of the Sultan the Girāssias got hewed out of stone the image of the vile Burhan, the Sultan's murderer, and setting it up as a guardian deity, began to pay it divine worship, saying : ''This is our saviour who has saved us from destruction and starvation. For, had the conditions under which we were living lasted one year more, hunger and privation would have given our lives to the winds of destruction."[3] Though there is no other evidence to corroborate this traditional account of the great fidelity of the oppressed Girāssias to that traitor Burhan, nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Sultan of Guzarat failed to destroy as a political entity the rapacious Girāssias.

1. See in this connection my article "The Bhils in Mahārāṣṭra" in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, No. 5, 1938.
2. Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

THE GIRĀSSIAS AND THE MOGHULS

After the power of the Gujarat Sultans declined and when the Moghuls came upon the scene of history, the Girāssias did not fail to raise their heads even against the might of the Moghuls. The Moghuls in their turn tried their best to stamp out these people as their predecessors, the Gujarat sultans had done before. Some time after the death of the Gujarat sultan Mehmud III, a general of the emperor Akbar was dispatched to conquer these Girāssias. So in the year A.D. 1584 this general, Kwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, enumerates the results of his expedition in these words : "I attacked and laid waste nearly fifty villages of the Kolis and and the Grāssias and I built forts in seven different places to keep these people in check."[1] This measure was exactly similar to the one which was resorted to by the Guzarat sultan Mehmud III in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Even this precaution could not control the wild activities of these Girāssias. In fact they continued to disturb the peace of the country down to the days of emperor Aurangzib in the beginning of the seventeenth century. As his illustrious predecessor Akbar did in A.D. 1584, the puritan Aurangzib between the years A.D. 1608-14 sent a general Abdul Khan to be the governor Gujarat in order, as De Laet puts it, "that he might subdue or destroy the Bielsgrati and Coulyes, who infested the roads and plundered the caravans of merchants."[2] Here again are the Girāssias classed together not only with the Koḷis but even with the Bhils as a distinctly predatory tribe given to wanton destruction.

THE GIRĀSSIAS AND THE MARĀṬHAS

With such a record to their credit extending over nearly two centuries, as soon as the Marāṭhas came into power, the Girāssias did not suddenly transform themselves into a docile people, even under the yoke of the Hindus like the Peśwas. In the documents of the Marāṭha rulers these people appear under the name of "Girāssias" which has been claimed to be derived from the word *ghās*, meaning a grass-cutter.[3] These Girāssias gave not a little trouble to the Marāṭhas, especially throughout the eighteenth century.

THE GIRĀSSIAS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Most probably the Girāssias were never such a great source of annoyance to either the Guzerat sultans or their successors, the Moghuls as they proved to the Marāṭha rulers, particularly in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Girāssias almost became a menace to the Marāṭha empire and like their contemporaries the Koḷis, Bhills and Bedars, whenever and wherever they could, caused distress and havoc. These disturbances were naturally reported by the officer in charge of the locality to his

1. ELLIOT and DOWSON, *History of India*, V, p. 447.
2. De Laet, *Empire of the Grand Moghul*, pp. 184-85. (HOLYLAND and BANERJI) 1928, ed.
3. RUSSEL and HIRALAL, *Castes and Tribes of Central Provinces*, III, p. 27.

superior officers at the head-quarters but sometimes the local officer in charge was granted the latitude to investigate into such a case, although, even in this case, the ultimate report had to be submitted to the central government for final decision. This can be ascertained from a letter sent by the Baroda government during the reign of Sayājirao I, (A.D. 1768-78) dated 7-9-1770 to an official named Rudrāji Girmāji. In it the government disapproved of the action of Rudrāji regarding his investigation into the case of the Girāssias of Kāmrej, who was arrested at Miyagāṁ. This officer was ordered to send the Girāssia to Baroda under a guard of twenty-five soldiers as there were other charges against him.[1] This action of the Baroda administration shows that if it was not satisfied with the disposal of such a case in which a Girāssia chief was concerned, the central government not only expressed dissatisfaction with such a disposal but itself dealt with the whole case. But it was an established practice of Marāṭha administration that in case a *Kamāvisdār* suffered any inconvenience in the government of his administrative unit, then the head quarters had to be informed about it. Therefore in accordance with such procedure in A.D. 1784-85 Udho Dādāji, the *Kamāvisdār* of Dabhoi, represented that the Girāssias of Indrāḷe, Bhāmeri and Jiri in the *tālūkas* of Cāmpaṇer, Bhilmaṅḍe and Gaikwāḍ, frequently committed raids on the villagers in his charge, made increased demands on account of their *girās* and took the *pāṭils* or village accountants prisoners. He consequently prayed that sanction might be given to his entertaining more forces (*śibandīs*) and this was granted.[2] From this document it is clear that every *Kamāvisdār* had *certain* forces which were considered sufficient to maintain the public peace but if, owing to such unforseen and, as will be seen, oft-recurring contingencies, extra troops were required, then the permission and sanction of the government had to be obtained.

About this time, it may be observed, the Girāssias were granted certain rights, as was done in the case, for example, of the Bhils. These were given *haks* or privileges while the Girāssias were permitted to enjoy specified *nemṇooks*. During the reign of Sayājirao I and Fattesing I (A.D. 1778-89) Fattesingrao wrote to Murārao, in a letter dated 2-12-1783 that the latter should leave the *pargaṇa* of Dholka without delay and that he should recover *ghāsdāṇa* after defraying the *memṇooks* of the Girāssias according to the specified lists. The Girāssias were to be paid in accordance with the in-

1. *Historical Selections from the Baroda State Records*, II, (15) p. 161 : Rudrā grimāji yās jeṅ, pra-kāmrej yethīl girāsīya miāgāmvi dharāla to parbhāreṅ prā māriṅ nele āṇi tikaḍil tikaḍe tyāci bhānjghaḍe karṇār hi goṣṭi upayogi tyājkaḍes āṇkhi; mahalce jabasāl āhet te huzūr ālayavinā hoṇār nāhit ; tar patradarsanī pancavis māṇus barobar devūn, khabardārin āsāmi mārgī sāmbhaḷon baḍodyās āṇūn pachocavaṇe.

2. *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI, (662) pp. 176-77 : yastav jajati śibandī ṭhevūn, girāsānce pāṇpatya keleṅ ; parantu pherūn girāse jamāv karūn parganvānt upadrav karṇār, tyānce pārpayās jajati śībandī thevūn bandobast jahālā pāhije mhaṇon tumhi lihile...

structions of Cinto Trimbak, probably an official.[1] From this procedure it appears that it must have been a practice of Marāṭha revenue administration to recover Ghāsdāṇa after making the stipulated payments of the *nemṇooks* to people like the Girāssias.

Despite such concessions, which were conceded by the Marāṭha State, the Girāssias continued to harass the country about them. In A.D. 1789-90 in Aruṇ and the neighbouring *parganas* Śersing Girāssia is recorded to have caused a disturbance. He not only captured the fort of Cicorda from the hands of the Sindhia and laid siege to the *thāna* of Piṁpriya in the *pargaṇa* of Mawan, but he was repulsed by the *Kamāvisdāṛ* of the locality with his infantry and his cavalry. Nevertheless he devastated the taluka and dared to levy contributions like *ghāsdāṇa* from every village and even desired to capture the station. When he was warned about this outrage, as the official letter says, the Girāssias went on blaming each other. Scouring the country they greatly laid waste the *jirāyat* and other crops in Pimpriya and five or six places. Their chief often got letters from the Sindhia, evidently, of complaint, but to them he gave rather blunt replies. To the clerks of Pimpriya Śersing often observed that he had no desire to possess the territory, but he claimed to stick to this dictum : *kahād cālel taseṅ karu and poṭ Bharū.* The *Kamāvisdar* therefore asked for more assistance and he was directed to recruit as many men as were necessary to punish these rebels..[2] This fact again shows what an unruly element of constant disturbance these Girāssias proved to the Marāṭha administration. They had not only chiefs but they dared to capture forts, recover imposts like *ghāsdāṇa,* carry on correspondence with rulers, ravage the crops and the countryside and turn a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the local officials. As before, the only recourse to the Marāṭha State, in such a contingency, was to stamp out the rebels in this locality, but they only flared up in another and unexpected quarter.

Another charge which these Girāssias were bold enough to recover from the frightened villagers was the Girās levy, an impost styled after themselves. This tax, as is evident from a letter dated 24-12-1791, was sometimes extorted in conjunction with the Bhils, their colleagues in plunder and rapine. In this epistle Bāḷāji Janārdhan (Nāna Faḍnīs) denied to Manājirao of Baroda the correctness of his allegation that the Peśwa's *Kamāvisdārs* at Kukermunḍhe and Navāpūr were assisting with men a rebellious Bhil of the Rajpipla district. The Gaikwād had recently foiled an attempt of this Bhil to levy a *girās* charge from Vyāra and Valvaḍ *Mahāls.* Nānā therefore requested

1. *Baroda State Records* II (143) p. 256 : pro-dhavalakeṅ yethīl kharābi hoti mhaṇon kamāvisdār huzuriṅ lihitāt, heṅ ṭhīk nāhin. tyās rājaṣri ravaḷojī śinde laskarānt āle astīl. ātāhpar divasagata na lāvitāh karūn pro phār jāṇe. Kasbātī girāsiye yājkaḍīl pharda promārce jhāle āhet. Tyās cinto trimbak sāngatīl tyāpranemṇukecā aivaz purata karūṅ deṇe. mag tumhi ghasdāṇyācā aivaz gheṇe.

2. *Satāra Rajas' and Peshwas' Dairies,* VI, (663) p. 177 : parantu sarkār tālūkā kharāb phār kelā. parasparen ekmekāvar ghālitāt. .sindyānce patre khecīs etāt tyānci uttare te sāḷsīne lihitāt. .

Manājirao to see that the supporters of the Bhil were punished and that the Peśwa's *mahāls* were kept free from his ravages as well as from the troubles of the Gaikwāḍ's own forces.[1] The implication of the term *Girās,* in this specific case, evidently means a blackmail recovered by the Girāssias from the villagers. It cannot in this instance be interpreted to mean either the maintenance given to cadets by chiefs of states or the shares of villagers left by the conquerors with the original landed proprietors.[2] As such it is exactly the opposite of the tax called *Bhil-paṭṭi* which was imposed to shield the suffering people from the atrocites of the Bhils.

The Girāssias, as time went on, appeared to have changed their tactics, for it has been noticed already that during the sovereignty of the Gujarat Sultans, especially of Sultan Muzaffar II, they rallied round the banner of Hindu rulers and lent a helping hand in harassing Muslim territories. But now when the Marāṭhas were the masters of Gujarat, the Girāssias probably found it more paying to ally themselves with their foes, the Muslims, and in turn fall on the lands of the Hindus. Apparently the only attraction which lured these habitual free-booters for forming any alliance was neither race nor religion nor any patriotic motive, but the opportunity for plunder, which became their political watchword almost throughout their history. Such a motive can be traced, for instance, in their alliance with the Moghuls in A.D. 1792. Mahādji Śinde informed Manājirao on 13-6-1792 that he should warn effectively Bāria Bhagwānsing of Miyāgam who had in the previous year, with the assistance of certain Girāssias, harassed the Broach *Pargaṇa* which was under the administration of Śinde. This year too he had gathered together, at the same place, the Girāssias and the son of the Moghul officer of Broach to repeat this mischief. Śinde therefore again requested Manājirāo that Bāria should not be permitted to entertain this new batch of Girāssias.[3] Whether Manājirao carried out this request of Mahādji Śinde is not known. But it is clear that again in the next year the Girāssias and the Moghuls fell on the Corāsī *pargana.* Again Koṇer Girmāji, *Kamāvisdār* of this *pargaṇa,* offering condolences to Sayājirāo on the death of Manājirao reported, on the 7th August 1793, that the cultivation of land in his *pargaṇa* was satisfactory. He added that he was obliged to engage additional troops to quell the disturbance caused by the Nawab of Surat, the Girāssias and the Siddi ruler of Sachin.[4] These forces were not sufficient to quell these

1. *Baroda State Records,* III, (54) p. 337. : surat aṭvīsintīl vyāre āgāre mahālānvar navīn girās basavūṅ lāgalā.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 438.
3. *Ibid,* III, (83) pp. 360-61 : Bhaḍoc pargaṇyāt miyā gāṁvkar Bhagvānsing bāriyarāṇe gudastāṅ upadrav lāvilā va dusare girāse yāṅsahi jāgā devūn yek-don gāṁvāvari ghāḍi ghātalyā. pāmajakūr yetheṅ yikḍīl māṇsen hotiṇ tyā paikiṅ don tīn māṇaseṅ ṭhār jāhaliṅ sālmajakūri tyāni bhaḍocakār mogalaṅcā loka va kitekā girāśe yāṅsī miyāgāṁvās jāga devūn upadrava karāvāyācā vicār kela āhe mhaṇon kaḷaleṅ. dusare girāśe yāṅs tyāni āpale javaḷ jāga devuṅ naye.
4. *Ibid.* (119) p. 387. : srīmant sāhebānce vartmān ālevar sūratkār yevūṇ va girāśāca upasarga jhālā tyās va śibandī navi māṅaseṅ śeṅ savāśeṇ theviliṅ.

marauders, so the Baroda government once more ordered this official to employ one hundred extra soldiers as these very people were again disturbing his *pargaṇa*.[1]

The Marāṭha State at times interfered with the internal affairs of the Girāssia chiefs especially when their domestic disturbances caused an upheaval all around them. Sayājirāo, the ruler of Gujarat during the A.D. 1790-93 directed, in an order dated 8-12-1793, Sukhanand Ātmārām to intern Bhimbā Girāssia, who resided in the neighbourhood, as his quarrels with his son, who had two hundred soldiers, resulted in the disturbance of the whole countryside. This quarrel had been going on for the last two years and as no agreement had been arrived at, it was suggested that Bhimbā was not to be allowed to go anywhere.[2]

The Girāssias continued their nefarious activities of destruction and disturbance almost to the extinction of Marāṭha independence in A.D. 1818. Despite all the havoc which they caused in the face of constant repressive measures imposed on them by the Marāṭha administration, they had to pay to the government specified duties in the shape of tribute from the places which they occupied. These were enforced through writs of assurance of protection to them when these Girāssias were attacked or otherwise molested and they had in their turn to bind themselves to the government that they would pay up their dues accordingly. This can be inferred by internal evidence. The Baroda government from Cambay, addressed on 13-5-1802 a letter to Sir Mingel de Lima De'Souza, a servant of the East India Company requesting him that letters of assurance may be obtained and given to all the Girāssias of Dhanduka *pargaṇa*, who were being harassed by the chiefs of Bhavanagar and Limbdi, as these had commenced to place their villages under the protection of the Company through the mediation of Sir Mingel. These writs of assurance were to remind the Girāssias to continue the payment of their tributes due in the usual course from their *pargaṇa* to the Peśwa government.[3]

Another example may be cited to show the nature of Marāṭha interference in the internal affairs of the Girāssias. As noticed already the Girāssias were granted plots of land in several parts of Gujarat evidently to tame their wild spirits of adventure and spoilation from the times of the Gujarat Sul-

1. *Baroda State Records*, III, (126) p. 392. pro-majakūrī mogalāni va giraśiyāni daṅgā kelā ahe āṇi sācinkār kamāvisdārāni gāṁv mārileṅ, mhaṇon huzūri vidit jhāleṅ, tāys śibandi māṇase śambhar darmahā tinsen ṭhevūn mahālcā bandobasta lāvaṇe āṇi śibandi lagalyās sarkarāntūn pāṭvūn yek mahinā mahṇon patra.

2. *Ibid.* III, (146) p. 409. : girāsīya bimāmbā yāce putrācā gharkalā karoṅ. bāher, rusum, jāvun, donasc māṇus śibandi ṭhevūn mahālās upadrav karato. Don varsa jhāliṅ. tya ubhayetāṅ pitāputrānśi samjūt jhali nāhi. pargaṇānt gāmvgāmv māṇse pāṭavūn rayatīs upadrav lāvito, mahaṇūn vidit jhāleṅ. tyā varūn heṅ patra sādar aseṅ ki, bhimbā girāsiyā tumbhājaval rāhat ahe tyās koṭeṅ jāvūṅ na deṇe.

3. *Ibid.*, IV (39), p. 497.; tyās girāsiyāṅsī abādī karaṇyāviṣiṅ abhayapatra cūḍāsāma girāsiyā yāce nāṁve kī, moje ḍhukarāv, ratalāv va bhīmaṭlāv, bhāngad, va kapaḍyā liva vāgaḍ vagaire gāṁv dilhe āheṭ...

tans in the early days of the sixteenth century. As days went on it was inevitable that transactions in the transfer of land among the Girassias themselves must have occurred, and it is possible these deals sometimes led to administrative complications. Mehmud III was advised by his prime minister Asaf Khan to resume all these lands once granted to the Girāssias and the result was that they not only fled to the frontiers of the kingdom but created fresh trouble, which meant extra establishment and expense to the Gujarat Sultans. Evidently the same policy of supervision and control was adopted by the Moghuls when they assumed the administration of Gujarat. But when the Marāṭhas came into power in this country they permitted the Girāssias to settle down in the land, offered them subsidies in the name of *nemṇooks* as well as assurances of protection whenever they were attacked, provided they were amenable to the dictates and demands of the State. The lands granted to the Girāssias were, as will be seen presently, State property and whenever any Girāssia dared to part with any portion of such territory, the government at once stepped in to assert its claim and forbade such a transaction. This can be seen from an order of the Baroda State, dated 8-11-1802, issued to Rāvaḷ Vakhatsing of Bhavanagar, prohibiting him from purchasing the share of land owned by a Girāssia in a village in Dāmnagar (Mahal) and offered by him for sale, because the whole of this Damnagar was under the direct control of the *Huzūr*. Simultaneously Sāwa Caran, a Girāssia concerned in this transaction, was also prohibited to sell this share in question.[1]

In matters of the rights of inheritance and disposal of landed property pertaining to the Girāssias, the Marāṭha State saw that too much of discretion was not permitted to them, for whenever such a discretion came into conflict with the established practice or usage of the State, the local official concerned was at once ordered to dispose of the case in accordance with wishes of the government. *Mahārāja* Ānandrāo directed Durjansing, the *Rāṇa* of Manḍvi, in an order attributed to circa A.D. 1803, to prevent the son-in-law of the Girāssia lady, Sadāji, residing within his jurisdiction limits, from managing and enjoying her estate and to entrust it to her lawfully adopted son.[2]

Sometimes, however, a strange practice was observed by the Marātha government towards recalcitrant Girāssias. *Mahārāja* Ānandarao Gaikwāḍ, in a despatch dated 26-8-1802 informed the *Kamāvisadār* of the Peśwa's share of Petḷād, named Satba Mahadik vice Viṭhalrao Bibāji, that the Girāssia of Nāpa, against whom troops had been sent, had come to the *parganạ*. The *Kamāvisdār* was therefore ordered to recover, in the first instance, from the

1. *Baroda State Records*, IV, (55) pp. 510-11. : muliyapāṭ yethīl girāsiyā āpalā bhāg tuṁhās lehūn deto mahaṇon vidit jhālėṅ. tyājavar patra sādar aseṅ kin, ha gāṁv sarkār tālukecā tyās tuṁhi tyā bhāgāmadhīn hāt na ghālāva. Yeseṇ karitāṅ tumhī bhāg ghyāl te sarkār manjūr paḍṇār nāhīṅ.

2. *Ibid.*, IV, (65) p. 519 : yeksal girāsahi ugharāt karūn ghetalā . sadhājicā girās gaṁv āhe.. tyājkade sammandha nāhi.

Girāssia the expenditure covering the slain horses, the wounded men, the powder, shot and lead incurred by the Baroda forces in the engagement with him, while further arrangements were to be made for safety.[1] Such a rather stringent measure was adopted by the Gāikwāḍ, obviously not out of any motive of greed or ruthlessness, but out of a desire to coerce him into further submission and to impress on him the utter futilty of rising in arms against his sovereign.

These relations of the Marāṭhas, especially in Gujarat, with the ever restless Girāssias, reveal that the Gaikwāḍs of Baroda, like their predecessors the Gujarat Sultans, did not succeed in any conspicuous measure either in suppressing the Girāssias, or in weaning them of their nefarious activities of disturbance and destruction and impressing on them the advantages of an orderly and settled life as the law-abiding citizens of the Marāṭha State, in spite of a continuous policy of repression, concession and conciliation.

1. *Baroda State Records*, IV, (50) pp. 507-08. : uparī nāpeṅ yetheṅ girāsāmvar tetheṅ laḍāyi hovūn ghoḍin paḍalīṅ. tyās hāliṅ girās; jabsālās promajakūriṅ āle āhet. tyās paḍīt ghoḍin va jakhamī-phautī va dārugoḷā-siseṅ yāncā ākār hoyīl to tyānjpāsūn ghevūn mag dusarā bandobasta karaṇe tasā karāvā.

POSTULATION OF TWO PROBABLE DEGREES OF ABSTRACTION IN THE PRIMITIVE INDO-EUROPEAN TONGUE IN THE LIGHT OF COMPOUND ACCENTUATION

By

C. R. SANKARAN, Madras.

In my paper "Accentuation in Sanskrit determinative compounds[1]", following Frederick TURNBULLWOOD,[2] I maintained that it was but reasonable to expect the prior member in the determinative compounds to receive the stress and in support of my contention there, I cited also instances like *médha-pati,* and *jā́s-pati,* of the old Indian.

Discussing again JUSTI'S[3] view I developed the argument in my paper quoted above (p 136), that it was perhaps the false perception on the part of the speakers of the Vedic Language (or of the Language of the *immediate ancestors* of the Vedic bards) that the second member is more important than the first in determinative compounds that resulted in the abandonment of logical accentuation not only in determinative but also subsequently in possessive compounds in Sanskrit, though it is not implausible that a rhythmic pattern originally came to replace the so-called logical accentuation in the later determinative compounds of the primitive Indo-European tongue, as the stress accent prevalent sometime before the breaking up of the primitive Indo-European Community was superseded by the pitch accent predominant just before the breaking up of the Indo-European community. I was then naturally more or less obsessed with the feeling that the possible view the speakers of the later stage of the primitive Indo-European tongue might have taken in regard to the determinative compound that its second member was more important than the first should be termed *false*[4], in the sense, that at first sight at any rate, it seems to be not quite logical. Further in support of my then view I went so far as to agree with Frederick TURNBULLWOOD in thinking that in the Lithuanian Bahuvrīhi compound ***kump-***

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1. *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras. (hereafter referred to as *JORM.*) Vol. 8, Part, 2, p. 135.

2. "The accentuation of nominal Compounds in Lithuanian" Language dissertations published by the Linguistic Society of America No. 7, Dec. 1930, Supplement to *Language,* Journal of the Linguistic Society of America.

3. JUSTI., *Ueber die zusammensetzung der nomina in den Indogermanischen sprachen* 75. Gottingen, 1861.

4. See the article quoted above P. 142. cf. also, "Five stages of the Pre-Vedic determinative compound accentuation as surmised by the historic survivals of their representatives in Sanskrit," *JORM.* Vol. 8, Part. 4, P. 335.

kójis[1] 'having a crooked foot' since it is the foot and not some other part of the man which is thought to be worthy of mention, logically speaking the second member should have presented in the speech consciousness of the speakers of the Lithuanian as the *Prepotent constituent in point of intension* which naturally enough explains the accentuation of the ***-kójis.***

But subsequent reflection has made me feel that after all to characterise the view which was in all likelihood taken by the speakers of the latest phase of the P.I.E. (perhaps just before ramification?) that the second member in a determinative compound is the *prepotent constituent in point of intension*, as a sort of *false perception* is not quite just. Perhaps at an earlier stage the speakers of the P.I.E. arrived only at the *first degree of abstraction* when only *the pre-potency in point of intension* of the first member of determinative compounds should have loomed large in their speech-consciousness. Evidently the speakers of the Lithuanian did not at all advance a bit beyond this stage of the *first degree of abstraction!.*

In this connection, it may not be out of place to point out that Languages like Hittite[2] and Lithuanian present many primitive Indo-European archaisms. Confirmations of these archaic features sometimes come quite un-expectedly (and strangely enough?) from the old Indian through rare Historic survivals. An instance to prove this is the Vedic *ráthas-páti-ṣ* Until quite recently this defied any satisfactory explanation at the hands of all scholars who could only concede that the genitive singular termination *as* was added to the consonant stem and *-s* to the vowel stem ending in *i-* or *u-* etc. But I went very far to suggest[3] that perhaps in *vána-s-páti-* and *ráthas-páti-ṣ* *vána-* and *rátha-* were the stems to which the genitive singular termination *-s-* was added., i.e., *vánas-* and *ráthas-* are survivals of pre-historic genitives which in historic times became *vanasya* and *rathasya,* perhaps on account of analogy with the pronominal stems.[4]

In other words, I postulated *vána-* and *rátha-* of *vánas-páti-ṣ* and *ráthas-páti-ṣ* as historic survivals of the P. I. E. vowel stems ending in *-o-* to which the genitive singular termination -s- was added in prehistoric times. Prior to my formulation of this *rátha-s-páti-ṣ* hypothesis, the phenomenon presented by the Hittite words like *ataš* (*at-ta-aš*)[5], *antuhšaš* too,

1. See my article "Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds" *JORM.* Vol. 8. P. 146.

2. The distinction between Proto-Indo-Hittite and Proto-Indo-European does not materially affect my present argument, and therefore I conveniently ignore it at the present stage, if only to avoid needless complication.

3. "The double Accented Vedic Compounds" *Madras University Journal,* 1936, P. 63.

4. H. HIRT *Indogermanische grammatik.* Teil 3. Heidelberg, 1927. Section 32, Pp. 46-48.

5. The phenomenon of this double writing is discussed in E. H. STURTEVANT'S *AComparative Grammar of the Hittite Language,* 1933, William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series, Linguistic Society of America, Pp. 61-65.

did not receive any satisfactory explanation.[1] The consensus of opinion among scholars has so far been that the genitive ending *-as* originally belonged to the consonantal flexion cf., (Gr. *Pod-ós*) and from that it forced its way into the paradigm of *-o-* stems.

Holger PEDERSON[2] in his recent work takes the view that my formulation of *ráthas-páti-s̆* hypothesis decides the question in favour of the new interpretation that the oldest genitive form of *-a-* stems is to be recognized in the Hittite *at-ta-as̆* "Die Wahl zwischen den beiden Deutungen der hittitischen Form würde zugunsten der letzeren entshieden sein, wenn C. R. SANKARAN the Double-Accented-Vedic compounds, (*Madras University Journal*), s. 63 mit Recht in Skr. *ráthas-páti s̆* den alten genitive eines *-o-* stammes sucht."

Leaving this digression and taking up the thread of my main argument, I must now say that the speakers of the old Indian (Or rather the last phase of the P.I.E. perhaps just before ramification) did not stop at the *first degree of abstraction*. They evidently arrived at *the second degree of abstraction* when the realisation dawned on them that it is more reasonable and legitimate to recognise the *Prepotency in point of intension* of the second member in determinative compounds.

It was this more mature *second degree of abstraction* in the progress of their thought, that ultimately should have resulted in the radical disturbance of the so-called original logical accentuation of the Pre-vedic compounds.

To take again our original example, in the Lithuanian *kump-kójis* it is the first degree of abstraction which is clearly discernible in its accentuation. To maturer minds, it is unnecessary for me to point out, that the first member

1. cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *ibid* p. 170, section 194A; see also Walter PETERSEN, "Hittite and Indo-European declension." *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 51. 1930 p. 252. foot note 4. Walter PETERSEN shared with HROZNÝ (*Die Sprache der Hetither* 27) the view that confusion between Indo-European *o-* and *ā-* stems must have taken place even before Hittite separated from the mother tongue.

(E. H. STURTEVANT did not seem to subscribe to this theory. cf. Language—Vol. 5. 1929, 8 ff.) His former belief was that in the *a-* stem (originally *o-* stems) the ending might have represented original *eso* with loss of the final vowel. cf. *Language*, Vol. II. 1926, p. 30. But disagreeing with HROZNÝ *loc. cit.* according to whom the genitive singular of the *a-* declension in *-as̆* goes back to I.E. *-so*, W. PETERSON thought that it is much more probably the genitive of *ā-* stems in Indo-European *-ās* than that of consonant stems in *-os*. But Holger PEDERSEN suggested that the identity of nominative and genitive may be an archaism in Hittite., "L 'identité de nominatif avec le génetif en hittite serait donc un archaisme"—*Etudes Lituaniennes.* Det Kgl Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk—Filologiske Meddelelser. XIX, 3 Copenhagen 1933. p. 23. Carl BORGSTRÖM, "the thematic genitive singular in Indo-European," *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap*. Oslo. No. 7. pp. 121-28. 1934. MILEUSKI, L'indo-hittite et l'indo-européen (*Bull. internat. de l' Ac. Polonaise.* No. Supplementaire 2.) Cracovie 1936. p. 24. f.n. 2. KURYLOWICZ, *Etudes Indo-Européennes* I, krakow, 1935. p. 260. MANSION, *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen.* Aarhus 1937. p.484.

2. Holger PEDERSEN, *Hittitisch und die Anderen Indo-Europäichen Sprachen.* Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk—filologiske, Meddelelser. No. XXV, 2, Copenhagen 1938, p. 26.

of this compound would appear to deserve greater emphasis than the second, from the point of view of its *Prepotency in point of intension*, for, though at first sight it appears that the word 'feet' deserves greater emphasis, no great arguments are needed to convince the minds which have reached great powers of abstraction that in reality the first member is the *Pre-Potent constituent in point of intension* for we are here obviously not concerned with any man who possesses *feet* but we are concerned primarily with a particular man who is characterised by *crooked* feet. Therefore it is no wonder that even in the earliest Sanskrit Epithetised compounds, the first member was thought to deserve greater emphasis than the second member. Hence we see in my present postulate of *the second degree of abstraction*, a possible rational explanation for the radical disturbance that set in in the matter of accentuation of both the determinative and epithetised compounds in the Pre-Vedic Language.

Of course, it must not be forgotten that in making this postulate of *the second degree of abstraction*, I have made use of *the most important canon of Pre-Potency in point of intension*,[1] wherein I have tacitly accepted the fundamental assumption of *relevance*[2] without which my entire argument would crumble to pieces like a pack of cards.

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1. I am indebted to S. R. RANGANATHAN (the Madras University Librarian) for the suggestion of this illuminating idea. See S. R. RANGANATHAN *Theory of Library Catalogue*, 1938, pp. 69-74. Madras Library Association Publication Series. No. 7.

2. RANGANATHAN (S. R.), *Prolegomena to Library Classification*, 1937. Pp. 31-33. Madras Library Association Publication Series. No. 6.

THE SAVIŚEṢĀBHEDA THEORY

By

S. ŚRĪKAṆṬHA ŚĀSTRI, Mysore.

I

Ānanda Tīrtha (Madhvācārya) and Śrīpati Paṇḍitārādhya in their commentaries on the Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa from the Dvaita and Dvaitādvaita points of view, have expounded the Saviśeṣādvaita theory, in order to refute the Nirvēśēṣādvaita of Śaṁkara and the Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja and Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya. The fundamental problem is whether the ultimate Brahman is entirely without predicable attributes or whether Çit and Açit are within the non-material body of the Lord, or whether the qualities such as Ānanda, Jñāna etc. mentioned in the scriptures are different from the Lord or one with him ; and if they are inherent in him, how to account for the world of Difference. The Bhēdābhēda theories of Nimbārka, Yādava Prakāśa, and Bhāskara postulate *bhinnābhinnatva* for the Lord, *bhinna* from the effect point of view and *abhinnatva* from the causal view-point. Some also hold that the attributes of the Lord are entirely different from Him and others say that the attributes are of two types, one type of attributes being the essential nature of the Lord and another type as separate from Him.

II

To Ānanda Tīrtha *Viśeṣa* is a power that makes cognition of difference possible, even though that difference is inherent in the objects themselves and does not spring from Viśeṣa as its cause. If it is objected that—difference is not proved from Perception, because if a single difference is said to exist in two objects, that Difference appears as the difference of pot and cloth (as a Viśeṣaṇa) or as a Viśeṣya between pot and cloth. And no such thing as mere Difference-knowledge exists ; we reply that since in our view Difference is the essential form of the entity, entity-knowledge is nothing but difference-knowledge. Therefore since we do not admit of two usages there, there is no defect of mutual dependence (*Anyōnyāśraya*). That is, a single difference is not the quality of two entities, but of one only, indicated however by a reference to another. In " the pot and the cloth are different," the pot has a difference from the cloth and the cloth from the pot. In " the difference between cloth and the pot," there are two differences of two things. The usage of the singular difference is from the assumption of generality. Therefore Difference is the essential nature of the thing itself.

Further, if it is said : in " the pot and the cloth are different," the pot is different from the cloth and the cloth from the pot. Here two differences

having pot and cloth as substrates appear. And the counter-entity, indicated by the pot occurs in the cloth and *vice-versa.* If difference rests upon one of the two, here also difference appears either as Viśēṣaṇa-Viśēṣya or as dependant on the counter-entities. Therefore in difference Viśēṣaṇa etc. should be accepted. Difference requires one relation as substrate and another kind of relation as the counter-entity. If difference is a Viśēsaṇa, then the pot etc. are Viśeṣyas. If difference is Viśeṣya, then the pot etc. are Viśeṣaṇas:— we reply :

In our view though there is no fault of the mutual dependance (thus ; since Difference is not of the essential nature of the counter-entity, if there is knowledge of the counter-entity as de-limiting difference, then there will be difference-knowledge and if there is difference-knowledge, then there is counter-entity knowledge as limiting Difference-knowledge, thus mutual-dependance), it is true that the counter-entity of the pot also is with a reference to the Difference of the pot-entity—as the counter-entity of the cloth. Even that is the real nature of the pot only. Because we have the knowledge of a thing having inherent difference, the counter-entitiness is not related to it and thus there is no mutual dependance based upon the counter-entity knowledge.

Also—does perception manifest the difference or also the substrate ? We cannot say that only "difference" is manifest, because "Difference" thus much only is never perceived. If it is said that the substrate is also manifested here also it is wrong to say that "difference" is manifested first and the substance afterwards. Nowhere do we find the knowledge of difference only and halting inference (*viramya vyāpāra*) is also not possible, because this is sentient activity (and it cannot inherently be in the non-sentient). Therefore also it cannot be said that the substance is manifested first and then the difference. Further it should not be asserted that the substance and the difference are manifested at one and the same moment, because substance-usage must precede (as the cause) the difference-usage also (the effect). To this Madhva replies—since Difference is the very nature of the substrate, substrate-usage is itself the difference-usage and there is no cause-effect relation between them. If it is objected that there cannot be any such identity because the requirement and non-requirement of counter-entities are of contradictory nature, the reply is that the Advaitins also assume that the identity of Jīva and Brahman can be expressed as "To the Jīva there is unity with Brahman" *i.e.* with a reference to usages of the substrate and counter-entity. If it is further objected that sometimes even if the substance is manifested, the difference is not and by assuming that they are one, you cannot account for doubt, modification etc., we reply that in Advaita also it is accepted that though unity is ultimately beyond all proof, it is the essential nature of the Pure intelligence (Pratyak Caitanya). Also difference, unlike unity, becomes known when the essential nature of the substance becomes known. Whatever is seen, that is seen as different from all other substances. Even when the knowledge of all things like the pot etc., has arisen,

it is the separate knowledge of the pot or the cloth etc. and not of one single form including pot, cloth etc.

What is the proof for the assertion that the Difference is the essential nature of the thing? The proof is—if difference is entirely separate from the essential nature of the thing, the cloth does not reveal the pot; so also even in the cloth itself other differences will not be revealed. If in a cloth the difference from all other things is not revealed, in that case even when one's own real nature as one of the substances is revealed then it might not appear as separate from all other things, and there might arise such a doubt as "Is it myself or pot or pot only?" Since every one wants certainity, difference should be accepted. And this difference has only two modes, (1) as the real nature of the thing or (2) as entirely separate from the thing. In the second view, doubt might arise even about one's own soul. Doubt arises thus. There is only one difference for one thing and that is manifested along with it. But that Difference has many qualities, like pot-counter-entitiness, cloth-counter-entitiness, pillar-counter-entitiness etc. Doubt arises only in those cases where, because of similiarity etc., a particular quality of counter-entitiness residing in difference is not manifested. Even there, difference will be perceptible. Hence even doubt cannot arise without difference as essential nature of the thing itself. If it is objected that to know a thing, one should have a knowledge of all the counter-entities and hence a man should be omniscient :—

No; it is enough if difference-knowledge of all other objects as a generality exists to infer a particular knowledge (of the pot). If the substrates have no difference from all objects, then a particular knowledge cannot arise. If there is non-difference, the qualities cannot be particular. Though such general knowledge exists for all, yet because greater particular knowledge does not exist for all, there cannot be omniscient human beings. Generally the counter-entity of a particular object is the generality of all other objects in ordinary experience, but at a particular moment only a few objects that are remembered act as counter-entities. Further, if it is objected that the nature of Difference is to break up a thing into parts, these parts into sub-parts and so on until only void is left—no, in our view Difference does not mean de-partition. Difference brings about the process of the partition of the substrate because of the counter-entity and not by itself. Therefore Difference does not mean de-partition (*Vidāraṇa*) but it is dependent on another (*Anyōnya bhāva*), and hence no fault of mutual dependence. But how can you say that many knowledges arise, because mind is atomic and at a particular moment has contact with only one thing—we reply that it is no defect because just as when there are a thousand lights, only the generality of all the lights is apprehended, even so here. When difference is manifested by Viśeṣa, the knowledges of the pot, cloth, etc. should arise at the same time. There, if there are the substance and counter-entity confronting each other at the moment when sense-contact occurs,

one general knowledge (dependent on both)' arises. If one (object or counter-entity) is absent, then sense-contact along with the previous memory (*Saṁskāra*) gives rise to a single cognition depending on the only one (either substance or the counter-entity) that is actually present before us. If both are absent, it should be understood that only one cognition that makes generality present, arises from the mind activated by memory.[1]

Viśeṣa is the representative of difference and makes difference-usage possible in a non-different thing. The Advaitins have also accepted that in the sentence "*Nēti, Nēti*" there is reference to all things as different from Brahman; otherwise there would be the fault of repetition. Therefore it is not possible to accept difference or difference-*cum*-non-difference between Brahman and the differences posited in the two sentences, or apart from Brahman, among themselves. If we do not accept Viśeṣa as entirely non-different from Brahman, there would be the fault of repetition. Moreover there is no *nirviśeṣābhēda* between pot-difference and cloth-difference, as it is opposed to experience. The experience of the pillar etc. as different from the pot, different from the cloth, results in two differences, non-different from the Viśēṣya and as *Saviśeṣābhinna.*

Thus also the Lord is entirely non-different from His attributes. At the same time we do not accept Viśiṣṭa usage for Bhēda also because it leads to infinite regress. If there were no attributes at all, it should be said that there is no witness at all. Therefore the scripture says that in Brahman there is no operation of attributes *neha nānāsti kiñçana* and he who sees it (*Bhinna* or *Bhinnābhinna*) will obtain death—*mṛtyoḥ sa mṛtyumāpnoti ya iha nāneva paśyati.* In usage however, difference may be employed as it is due to the power of Viśeṣa. The *Tattva-pradīpa* says that if difference or difference-*cum*-non-difference is assumed, and the relation between them as Samavāya etc. and to get rid of the fault of infinite regress, that those also have inherent power to reveal difference like viśeṣa, it would be assuming too much. Hence, on the ground of parsimony, it is better to accept the power of Viśeṣa only and of one substance only.

III

From the point of view Bhēdābhēda, Śrīpati also adopts the Viseṣa doctrine and calls his system Viśēṣādvaita. The power of the Lord is non-separate from Him. Since that Çit-Śakti is the main cause of creation, Bhēdābhēda, which proves that the Lord alone is both the material and instrumental cause (not merely Nimitta Kāraṇa) is the only logical theory. In

1. These arguments of Ānandatīrtha are directed against the refutation of Duality and Bhēdā-bhēda in the *Bhāmatī* which says. भिद्यमानतन्त्रत्वाद्भेदस्य, भिद्यमानानां च प्रत्येकमेकत्वात्, एकाभावे चानाश्रयस्य भेदस्यायोगात्, एकत्वस्य च भेदाधीनत्वात्, "नायं अयं" इति च भेदग्रहस्य प्रतियोगिग्रहसापेक्षत्वात्, एकत्वग्रहस्य च अन्यानपेक्षत्वात्, अभेदोपादानैवानिर्वचनीयभेदकल्पना—इति सांप्रतम् ॥

the word Viśēṣa, *vi* refers to the Lord as the creator (*Vāti—utpādayati*), and *Śēṣa* indicates the Jīvas as parts of the Lord according to the Visphuliṅga nyāya. The final Unison is indicated by the word *Advaita*, according to the scripture *yathā nadyaḥ syandamānā samudre.*[1] By Advaita we understand only the rejection of "Difference-united" *sabheda,*[2] and because the reality or non-reality of Difference is not proved, the word Viśeṣa has been employed. Though the Jīva and the Brahman belong to the same Jāti, just as there is inherent difference between a stone, clod, stick etc., so also because there are such contradictory qualities such as atomicity and pervasion, little knowledge and omniscience etc., Brahman is separate from the Jīva, from the effect view-point. In our view all knowledges are real since similarity-knowledge *sādṛśyajñāna* is of the Highest,[3] the cognitions of rope-snake, nacre-silver, two moons, yellow conch, the revolving fire-brand, mirage-water, are all real, because of the reality of the instrument, the instrumental must also be real. All these are due to Māyā by which we understand the unique power of the Lord which is non-separate from Him, like the moon and its radiance. If we admit that the power is also capable of destruction, Brahman to whom that power is essential nature must also be destroyed and thus atheism results.[4]

If it is objected that—Difference and Non-difference being opposed to each other as darkness and light, cannot co-exist and hence only Bhēda or Abhēda should be the true doctrine, we reply :—we are not justified in accepting either Bhēda-vākyas or Abhēda-vākyas only as authority, for there would ensue the fault of self-contradiction in the scriptures. Is that supposed contradiction (between Bhēda and Abhēda) due to (1) opposition to facts (2) absence of cause (3) illogic (4) Negation (5) lack of proof (6) improbability (7) fruitlessness (8) not accepted (9) non-qualified-ness or (10) the absence of uniformity of scripture? Not the first because between Jīva and Brahman there is the relation of the supported and supporter. And others also have accepted such contradictory things as knowledge and Nescience in the Jīva, the three qualities in Prakṛti, the three worlds, the three bodies, and three states in Vikṛti, half-man-half-woman in Siva, *Jahad* and *Ajahad* in lakṣaṇas, Saguṇa and Nirguṇa in Advaita, merit and demerit in man, light and darkness in the glow-worm etc. Nor the second:—because the

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1. विशब्देनोच्यते शम्भुः "द्वा सुपर्णेति" मन्त्रतः।
   शेषशब्देन शारीरी "यथाग्ने" रिति मन्त्रतः॥
   अद्वैतेन भवेद्योगो "यथा नद्येति" मन्त्रतः।
2. तत्राद्वैतपदेन भ्रमरकीटवज्जीवस्य स्वाभाविकभेदनिवृत्तिरुपपद्यते॥
3. अस्मन्मते सर्वं ज्ञानं सत्यमेव। तत्रापि सादृश्यज्ञानस्य पारमार्थिकत्वात् रज्जुसर्पज्ञानमपि सत्यम्। सादृश्यं विना तज्ज्ञानासंभवाच्च॥
4. चंद्रचंद्रिकावत् शक्तिशक्तिमतोरभेदात्। शक्तिनाशे शक्तिविशिष्टस्य ब्रह्मणोऽपि नाशप्रसंगेन निरीश्वरमतप्रवेशस्स्यात्॥

scripture shows that even before creation the Lord was the possessor of Śakti. Nor the third—though the unity of consciousness between Jīva and Brahman is accepted, yet the contradictory qualities such as atomicity and pervasion etc. are also shown in the scripture. Nor the fourth—By the illustration of the clay *mṛttiketyeva satyam,* difference-*cum*-non-difference is indicated and ultimately the effect (world) is non-separate from the cause (Lord). Not the fifth—because there is the scriptural proof of difference-*cum*-non-difference in 'the knower of Brahman becomes Brahman itself" (*brahmavid brahmaiva bhavati, brahma veda brahmaiva bhavati.*) Not the sixth :—because scripture shows the relation of the Ordainer and the Ordained, between Brahman and the world. Not the seventh :—because by observing first Dvaita Karma (in the form of Upāsanā etc.) its result (attainment of the Lord) is indicated as the fruit, according to the Bhramara-Kīṭa nyāya. Nor the eighth :—The Sūtrakāra has rejected the views of Bādari and Jaimini as one-sided, and has accepted difference-*cum*-non-difference. Not the ninth :—In Dvaita there is no hope of non-return to saṁsāra. In Advaita there is the total abandonment of Bhakti and of all the Śastras which enjoin Vidhi etc., because their Saguṇa Brahma is afflicted with Māyā. Only in Dvaitā-dvaita, all the three Bhakti, Karma and Jñāna are reconcilable. Not the tenth :—just as the sprinkling of the rice as a part of the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice leads to heaven, even so karmas finally lead to salvation in our doctrine of Viśiṣṭādvaita. This is the view of Kāśakṛtsna endorsed by Bādarāyaṇa.

Other Bhēdābhēdavādins like Nimbārka, Bhāskara, Yādava Prakāśa are of the same opinion as Śrīpati that the Lord and His power are non-different. The God of religion is also the God of metaphysics and hence the need for divine grace. Therefore Brahman is Saguna only and not Nirguṇa.

To this the Vivaraṇa-kāra says[1] : Supposing there is no such attributeless substance, still Brahman is no substance, because there is no proof. If you say it is a substance due to inherent cause (Samavāya Kāraṇa), no—as no ārambhavāda can ensue. If you say that it is due to material cause, that also is not possible, because even for qualities etc. there is material cause as quality of seizing etc. If you say that there is no such thing as without qualities, then in the last quality there is in-conclusiveness (Anaikānta.) Hence the assertion that there is no Nirguṇa Brahman is due to a spirit of mere contradiction.

1. मा भून्निर्गुणं द्रव्यम्; ब्रह्म तु न द्रव्यं, प्रमाणाभावात्; समवायिकारणत्वाद् द्रव्यं–इति चेत्, न–आरम्भवादानभ्युपगमात्।' उपादानकारणत्वाद् द्रव्यं–इति चेत्–न, गुणादीनामपि ग्रहणधर्मत्वादिधर्मोपादानत्वात्। न निर्गुणं वस्तु इति चेत्, अन्त्यगुणेष्वनैकान्तः ॥

DER SCHNITTER UND DIE ERLEUCHTUNG BUDDHAS*

Von

L. SCHERMAN, München.

[Professor R. ZELLER, the Director of the Ethnographical Department of the Museum in Bern, sent me last autumn a photograph of a newly acquired sculpture. Neither he nor I doubted that it came from Gandhāra, one of the north-western provinces of Ancient India; the only question was as to the interpretation of the scene. To clear up this matter is the purpose of the following article.

The small slate sculpture, measuring 30×20 cm, and dating probably from the end of the 2nd century A.D., is considerably damaged; besides this, the final piece on the right is missing. There are two representations of the Bodhisattva and between these Vajrapāṇi can easily be recognized by his well-known attribute, i.e., the thunderbolt (*vajra*). We are never surprised to meet him beside the Teacher of the Law, since he accompanies him like a shadow, as his guardian. In front of the Bodhisattva a man of the people, poorly clad, is submissively kneeling; just there, where his gift and his reception should appear, some parts of the stone are unfortunately broken off.

The rôle of the figures becomes more evident, when we look at three illustrations given by Alfred FOUCHER in his standard work "L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique" (Paris 1905-22). They show the meeting of the grass-cutter with the Bodhisattva on his way to the tree of Wisdom (*bodhi*); the latter receives several bundles of grass which are to form a seat under that sacred fig-tree. There is hardly any doubt that the fragment deals with the same episode. As to the second Bodhisattva, he is the main figure belonging to the right half of the sculpture; here we have to imagine the same field labourer *cutting* the grass that we have seen him *handing* to the Bodhisattva on the left side. The sequence of several pictures from right to left is quite normal as well as the repetition of a figure in different poses on the same piece.

The explanation offered here for acceptance gets its strongest support from a panel on the southern gateway at Sāñcī, which is one or two centuries older than the Gandhāra type, with which we are dealing. There we perceive between the actions of cutting and of presenting the grass the Bodhi tree, one of the most frequent symbols of Buddha's person. The making of his image was forbidden at that period, as has been recently proved by Mr. WALEY'S quotation from the Chinese translation of the Buddhist canon.

We are able to follow up our legend from its source in the native land of Buddhism to Farther India, Ceylon, Java, Tibet and China. Literature and art are as usually closely linked. The old Pāli texts do not mention this story at all. In the course of its development the mower is called Svastika, this name being purposely selected from the most ancient symbols of folklore. Later one feels the necessity of placing him into the community of an acknowledged Indian caste; he becomes a Dvija, a Brāhmaṇa and finally he is raised to the rank of the god Indra, worshipped since Vedic times. This deity divines every wish of the Bodhisattva in his endeavour to acquire the supreme knowledge; he is therefore eager to take part in the overwhelming event of the attainment of Buddhahood and does so in the disguise of Svastika.]

* Vorgetragen in der *Sitzung der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* am 26. Februar 1938; mit Genehmigung der Akademie hier veröffentlicht.

Unter den Neuzugängen der ethnographischen Abteilung des Berner Historischen Museums befindet sich ein Schiefer-Relief, dessen Abbildung mir die Direktion übermittelte. Die Herkunft aus Gandhāra war weder der Museumsleitung noch mir zweifelhaft; nur auf die Deutung der dargestellten Szene kam es an. Damit ist für den nachfolgenden Aufsatz das Ziel gesteckt.

Die Festschrift für einen Orientalisten von der Vielseitigkeit unseres allverehrten Prof. F. W. THOMAS zieht sicher auch Nicht-Indologen in ihren Leserkreis. Der Fachmann wird es deshalb nicht tadeln, wenn ich zur historisch-geografischen Orientierung einige allgemeinere Bemerkungen vorausschicke.[1]

Die Todesjahre von Darius und Buddha liegen nahe beieinander; Darius ist 486, Buddha zwischen 483 und 477 v. Chr. gestorben. Um diese Zeit war das, was die Perser Indien nannten—die Landstriche an den Ufern des unteren Indus bis zur heutigen Provinz Sind in der Präsidentschaft Bombay—, seit etlichen 30 Jahren ihnen unterworfen. Gegen 512 war das mehrere Jahre zuvor annektierte Fünfstromland von Darius zu einer Satrapie umgestaltet worden, von der Herodot als der zwanzigsten spricht. Gandhāra aber, den nordwestlichen Streifen etwa von Kābul bis Peshāwar, hatte schon Jahrzehnte zuvor Cyrus dem von ihm gegründeten Achämeniden-Reiche einverleibt. Aus Gandhāra und jenem engeren "Indien" wurden Hilfstruppen unter einem persischen Oberbefehlshaber, Fussoldaten und Berittene, für den Xerxes-Feldzug gegen Griechenland 480 v.Chr. auf den Marsch gebracht. Die persische Herrschaft in Indien hielt sich fast 200 Jahre bis zum Ende der Achämeniden-Dynastie 330, und auch bei dieser Katastrophe zogen die Perser gegen den Eroberer Alexander indische Truppen bei, die von den Satrapen von Baktrien und Arachosien (letzteres ist der heutige Distrikt Kandahār in Afghanistān) befehligt waren.

Mit Alexander d. Gr. rücken wir unmittelbar an den Beginn des Maurya-Reiches (321-184). Aus seinem kulturhistorischen Rahmen treten der Grieche Megasthenes als Seleukus-Gesandter am indischen Hofe, der Buddhistenkönig Aśoka und Indiens Beziehungen zu den baktrischen Griechen (Yavana) hervor. Diese münden in eine Reihe von Invasionen, deren eine sogar bis zur Hauptstadt Patna reicht. Nach ihrem Ablauf werden unbedeutendere Königsgeschlechter in Kämpfe mit skythischen (Śaka) und parthischen (Pahlava) Stämmen verwickelt, bis eine gewisse Stetigkeit durch die Machtentfaltung der sog. Indoskythen oder Kuṣa(na) erreicht ist. Will man ihre politische Grössen einzeln herausschälen, so stört das Schwanken der Ära-Berechnungen. Für Kaniṣka, dessen Königshof am neuen Ausbau des buddhistischen Glaubenssystems entscheidend mittätig war, findet ein Datum um 120 n. Chr. wachsende Zustimmung. Dies färbt zugleich auf die Chronologie der Gandhāra-Kunst ab, die damals schon auf ein Alter von 100

1. Hierzu namentlich *Cambridge History of India.* Vol. I. Ancient India. Ed. by E. J. RAPSON. Cambridge 1922: Aurel STEIN, *Early relations between India and Iran.* London, Nov. 1937.

bis 150 Jahren zurückblickte und bereits so fest verankert war, dass der Einfluss, den sie in verschiedener Tiefe auf die religiöse Bildnerei Indiens, Afghānistāns und Turkistān-Chinas ausübte, kaum auf Hemmnisse stiess.

In diese Epoche wahrscheinlich in die Schlusshälfte des 2. Jhs., gehört die Berner Skulptur (Abb. 1). Erhalten sind ausser der mit Blattranken gefüllten, unproportioniert grossen Randleiste, wie sie in der Mathurā-Schule üblicher ist als in Gandhāra, und dem Zwickel eines Nischenbogens mit Schnurmotiv vier Gestalten. Bruchschäden an Köpfen und Armen, dazu der fehlende Abschluss rechts erschweren die Klärung des Zusammenhangs. Die Hauptfigur ist zweifellos der Buddha oder genauer gesagt der Bodhisattva —der vollendete und der werdende Buddha fallen für den Gandhāra-Bildhauer eine Strecke weit zusammen. Mönchsgewand in schematischem Faltenwurf, welliges Haar, Scheitelknoten, Nimbus; die Arme von der Robe bedeckt, deren Endzipfel er mit der Linken hochzieht. Die Grösse des Kopfes und die Dünne der Beine sind dem Ebenmass abträglich. Zur Seite kniet unterwürfig ein Mann mit nacktem Oberkörper und kurzem Hüftenrock; eigenartig ist seine Kopfbedeckung; über einem die Stirn umrahmenden Wulst bauscht sich turbanähnlich ein faltiger Stoff, der die langgezogenen Ohrlappen freilässt. Trotz der Bruchstelle am Unterarm ist erkennbar, dass er dem Bodhisattva mit beiden Händen etwas entgegenhält. Über die Gabe und die Handhaltung des auf den Spender herabblickenden Beschenkten Sicheres auszusagen ist ohne Hilfe unversehrterer Parallelstücke kaum möglich. Die merkwürdig ähnliche Buddhafigur ganz rechts lassen wir zunächst ausser Betracht; sie beschäftigt uns später. Schon jetzt aber ist die dritte Gestalt von Belang, deren Körper nur halb ausgearbeitet ist. Vom Kopf ist die ganze Oberflächen-Modellierung abgesplittert; immerhin verrät die Silhouette, dass er dem rechts von ihm stehenden Bodhisattva zugewendet ist. Vorzüglich erhalten ist die emporgehobene an beiden Enden verdickte Keule; damit ist eindeutig der göttliche Donnerkeilträger Vajrapāṇi bestimmt. Man ist nie überrascht, wenn dieser "weltliche Arm Buddhas" seine Hand im Spiele hat. Er ist des Meisters Schutzgeist, von dessen Auszug aus der Familie bis zum Ende seiner Erdenlaufbahn.

Ich bekenne offen, dass es mir nicht auf Anhieb glückte, den Sinn zu erfassen. Das Armutszeugnis, das ich mir dadurch ausstelle, muss ich verwinden; denn, wenn auch Einzelfiguren durch charakteristische Posen und Attribute oft schnell bestimmbar sind, über derartige G r u p p e n haben sich schon gescheitere Fachgenossen den Kopf zerbrochen. Ich griff alsbald nach unserem verlassigsten Ratgeber, dem zweibändigen Werk "L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra" von Alfred FOUCHER; es ist in Abständen von 1905-22 (Paris) erschienen, an Rückverweisungen, Ergänzungen, Erörterungen neuer Bedenken usw. fehlt es mithin nicht—wohl aber an einem Index für die 1500 Seiten, der freilich zu einem Teilchen durch F.'s ausserordentlich hilfreiche 'Liste indienne des Actes du Buddha (Paris 1908; s. für unsern Fall p. 11) ersetzt wird. Mein Auge heftete sich an eine im ersten Band mehrmals hintereinander abgebildete Szene; ihr Sinn erschliess sich am leichtesten durch

eine Stelle des berühmtesten Buddha-Epos, Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* XII, 115 u. 119. Der Abschnitt lautet: [Nachdem die fünf Bettelmönche am Bodhisattva ob seiner Verwerfung der Askese irre geworden waren und ihn verlassen hatten], war er nur von seinem Sinn geleitet und entschlossen die Erleuchtung zu suchen; er schritt zum Fusse des Feigenbaumes, dessen Boden ein Teppich aus grünem Grase deckte. [Es folgt der Lobpreis des Schlangenkönigs, der ihm die Buddhaschaft prophezeit.] Nachdem der mächtigste der Schlangendämonen ihn so gerühmt hatte, e m p f i n g e r s a u b e r e s G r a s v o n e i n e m S c h n i t t e r, gelobte sich die Erleuchtung und nahm seinen Sitz am Fusse des hohen, reinen Baumes ein.

Aśvaghoṣa zählt zu den frühesten Bearbeitern der Buddha-Legende, wenn er nicht überhaupt der erste ist. Umso eindrucksvoller berührt es, wie diese Sanskrit-Dichtung—die zwischen 80 und 150 n. Chr. entstanden, ihrem Verfasser durch die künstlerische Bewältigung des Stoffes den Ruf des grössten Poeten des Buddhismus eingetragen hat—auch hier auf die in ähnlichen Werken beliebten Einbauten und Füllsel in sachter Handhabung der magischen Reflektoren verzichtet.[1]

Auf FOUCHER'S Fig. 197 (I, p. 391; unsere *Abb.* 2) steht oben im Hintergrunde über dem Grasmäher der aus dem vedischen (vorbuddhistischen) Pantheon übernommene, aber stark degradierte Gott Indra (kenntlich an seinem Turban), rechts über Vajrapāṇi der eine viel geringere Alterspatina besitzende Gott Brahmā (mit welligem Scheitelknoten ohne Kopfbedeckung); die sonstigen Gestalten auf der linken Hälfte sind Repräsentanten der in diesen Szenen häufig als Zuschauer beigezogenen Götter aus bestimmten Himmeln. Die griechische Säule widerstrebt nicht dem Charakter des Bauwerks, zu dem die Zierplatte gehört; die Blumenranke in Abb. 1 scheidet etwas trotzig die indischen und hellenistischen Elemente. Das Grasbündel wirkt geradezu hölzern, und die Hand, die es entgegennehmen will, ist nicht minder plump. Hingegen ist die Haltung aller Figuren lebendiger und natürlicher als in Abb. 1, insbesondere beim Schnitter und seiner Kleidung.

Die nächste Variante (FOUCHER Fig. 198; unsere Abb. 3) ist eine hoch-

1. Neueste Ausgabe u. Übersetzung von E. H. JOHNSTON, *The Buddhacarita*; or Acts of the Buddha. Part I: Sanskrit Text. Part II: Cantos I to XIV translated from the original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan version together with an introduction and notes. (= Punjab University Oriental Publications Nr. 31; 32.) Calcutta 1935; 1936. Für unsern Passus s. I p. 143f: II p. XIV und 186. Part II p. VII-X ausführliche Bibliographie zum *Buddhacarita*.—Meine Datierung deckt sich, wie ich eben sehe, mit A. B. KEITH'S Besprechung, *Bull. School of Or. Studies* 9 (London 1937) p. 214f; dabei gehe ich von einem späteren Ansatz Kaniṣka's aus als ihn JOHNSTON II. p. XVIf. befürwortet, vgl. m. Ausführungen im *Münchner Jahrb. d. bildenden Kunst* 6 (München 1929) p. 158f.; L. de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas* (Paris 1930) p. 343-74; M. WINTERNITZ, *A history of Indian literature* II (Calcutta 1933) p. 611-14 u. S. KONOW, Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, *Journal of Indian History* 12 (1933), p. 1-46.

künstlerische Komposition; der Rahmen ist eng—der Abstand der korinthischen Säulen misst nur 15 cm.—aber die Gedrängtheit ist nicht beklemmend, überall waltet klassizistische Ausgeglichenheit, Harmonie und wohliger Rhythmus. Haltung und Blickrichtung sind auf einander bezogen, der Faltenwurf ist ungezwungen und mit Liebe ausgearbeitet. Auch in der perspektivischen Anordnung sind hier die übrigen Reliefs weit übertroffen, die es beim Nebeneinander bewenden lassen und in der Tieferwirkung versagen.—Beachtlich ist, dass in Vergleich zu Abb. 2 links und rechts in allen Hauptstellungen vertauscht ist; also seitwärts links Brahmā, seitwärts rechts Indra, in der Mitte der Bodhisattva, der Schnitter und zur Rechten des ersteren Vajrapāṇi; zwischen ihnen schweben im Hintergrund vier Himmelsgötter.

In unmittelbarem Anschluss hieran bespricht FOUCHER, der schon früher das Thema aufgegriffen hatte [*JA*. Sér. X, T. 2 (Paris 1903), p. 240 ff; hiernach auch unsere Abb. 2) folgende Szene (Fig. 199): der Bodhisattva verteilt das Gras auf den Sitz am Fusse des Baumes der Erkenntnis, dessen Gottheit am Baumstamm erscheint. Zur Linken des Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, jetzt nicht im Eros-Typ, sondern Silen-ähnlich.[1] Zeugen des Aktes sind nach FOUCHER'S einleuchtender Erklärung ein Schlangenkönigspaar in menschlicher Gestalt. Als weitere Fortsetzung der untere Teil von Fig. 200: der Bodhisattva tritt mit dem Grasbündel zum Baum, an dessen Stamm die Baumgottheit lehnt; die Verteilung auf rechts und links wieder wie bei Fig. 198. Unten am Sockel in der Haltung eines stützenden Atlanten die Erdgöttin, der Später die Beteuerung der grenzenlosen Spendefreudigkeit des Bodhisattva zufällt. Neben diesem oben Brahmā, unten Indra und ihm zur Seite Vajrapāṇi.

Zu dieser Reihe tritt im zweiten Bande FOUCHER'S Fig. 401 (p. 193; *Abb.* 4) als wichtiger neuer Beleg. Das Berliner Gandhāra-Relief, I. C. 32976 zwar nicht auf der Höhe von Abb. 3, aber zügiger und geschmeidiger als Abb. 1-2, veranschaulicht den gesamten Bodhi(=Erleuchtung)-Ablauf: (a) Māra, der das Sterben veranlassende Gott des Unheils, verfolgt mit seinen drei Töchtern die Vorbereitungen zur Buddhaschaft: von der dritten, die den Würdeschirm über Māra hält, sieht man nicht viel mehr als den Kopf. (b) Der Schnitter beginnt den Baumsitz mit Gras zu belegen, links davon hält der Bodhisattva ein Grasbüschel zu dem selben Zwecke bereit. (c) Die Erdgöttin in Atlantenstellung am Sockel des Sitzes. (d) Die Baumgottheit kniet neben ihr verehrend vor dem Bodhisattva.

Und nun betrachten wir ein zweites Mal die Berner Skulptur. Noch ist die Schwierigkeit nicht behoben, wo und wie die rechtsstehende Replik des Bodhisattva einzupassen ist. Wir haben, wie ich schon sagte, ein Fragment vor uns; rechts fehlt ein Stück—können wir durch eine ikonographische Konjektur die Leere füllen? Für diesen Versuch ziehe ich die frühest bekannte

1. Vgl. das ergiebige Kapitel bei FOUCHER, a.a.O. II p. 48-64; 202 (cf. *JA*. Sér. X, T. 2 (Paris 1903) p. 208) und die anregenden Ausführungen v. Eliz. C. SPOONER, The Fravashi of Gautama, *JRAS*. 1916 p. 497-504 (bes. p. 500).



Abb. 1. Gandhāra-Relief Museum Bern 30 20 cm Photo des Berner Museums.



Abb. 2. Gandhāra-Relief Museum Lahore. 33 cm. Nach FOUCHER, *Journal Asiatique*. 1903, II, Fig. 7.



Abb. 3 Gandhāra Relief Museum Lahore. Bildfläche ca 15 × 9 cm. Nach FOUCHER, *Gandhāra* I, p 392.



Abb. 4 Gandhāra-Relief. Museum f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, 37 × 30 cm. Photo des Berliner Mus.

Darstellung unseres Themas heran [*Abb.* 5, vgl. Catalogue, Museum Sanchi (Calcutta 1922) p. 22], die den erwähnten Gandhāra-Skulpturen um ein bis zwei Jahrhunderte voraufgeht.

Durch Ernst WALDSCHMIDT'S Neubearbeitung von GRÜNWEDEL'S Buddhistischer Kunst in Indien I p. 70 bin ich auf sie aufmerksam geworden. Auf einem Panel der Innenseite des rechten Pfeilers des grossen Tores von Sāñcī in Zentralindien erblicken wir unsere Szene in zwei Phasen: rechts mäht der Schnitter, links übergibt er das Grashäufchen dem durch den Bodhi-Baum symbolisierten Buddha. Diese ehrfürchtig-scheue Versinnbildlichung hat die altindische Vor-Gandhāra-Kunst bis in eine Epoche, die durch mehr als 400 Jahre von des Erhabenen Tod getrennt ist, als Gebot beobachtet. Geschah dies zufolge einer sakrosankten Bindung? Ich habe immer nach einer solchen gesucht, bis ich in einem Aufsatz des Sinologen Arthur WALEY[1] fol-

1. *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 1 (Bruxelles 1932) p. 352f; wichtig der hier zitierte Aufsatz v. Masumi IWASAKI *Kokka* 1920, May und der inhaltsreiche Artikel 'Butsuzō', Hōbōgirin, Fasc. 3 (Paris 1937) p. 210-15, speziell p. 212.

Die hier aufgedeckten chinesischen Quellen haben natürlich nicht das Schwergewicht des Pāli-Tripiṭaka. So grossen Auftrieb ihnen auch die Untersuchung der buddhistischen Schriftenmassen verdankt, so ist doch der von H. OLDENBERG vor 40 Jahren in seinen Buddhistischen Studien (*ZDMG* 1898 p. 613-94; s. bes. p. 644) eingenommene Standpunkt, den auch WINTERNITZ (*Studia Indo-Iranica.* Ehrengabe f. Wilh. Geiger. Leipzig 1931 p. 63-72) beibehält, unerschüttert. Was nun die Sarvāstivādin anbelangt, so räumen ihnen die verschiedenen Sektenlisten übereinstimmend eine Vorzugesstellung ein; der ursprunglichen Gemeinde der Sthaviravādin stehen sie am nächsten. An der chinesischen Übertragung ihrer Kirchenordnung, des Vinaya, arbeitete, nachdem eine kompilatorische Zusammenfassung der Ordinationsregeln schon im J. 188 von dem altestbekannten chinesischen Monch niedergeshrieben worden war, seit 404 Kumārajīva unter Mitwirkung von Punyatrāta und Dharmaruci, und nach K.'s Tode (413) sorgte Vimalākṣa für den Abschluss (P. C. BAGCHI, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine* I (Paris 1927) p. XXI; 177, 338 f.). Eine Vinaya-Schule wurde in China im 7. Jh. gegründet, im 8. folgte Japan diesem Beispiel und benutzte ihre Schriften als Vorlagen der ersten Japanischen Drucke (M. W. de VISSER, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan* (Leiden 1928-35) p. 291; 411 f.: 546; 613; 639).

Eine Absplitterung von den Sarvāstivādin sind die Mūlasarvāstivādin, deren Namen auf die wurzelhafte Verbindung mit der alten Kirche pocht. Worauf sich das Datum 170 n. Chr. gründet, das WALEY a.a.O. für die Übersetzung ihres Vinaya angibt, kann ich leider nicht feststellen. Ed. HUBER, Études bouddhiques, *BEFEO* 14 (1914), 1, p. 19f. spricht nur von einer chinesischen Übersetzung des 7. Jhs. und denkt lediglich für die indische Fassung an ein "remaniement aux environs de l'ère chrétienne", das mir indess nach WINTERNITZ II p. 231-34 zweifelhaft dünkt; s. auch P. PELLIOT, *T.'P.* 19 (1920) p. 345.

Im übrigen sind für den chinesischen Buddhismus verhältnismässig frühe Daten erschlossen. Seine Einführung will O. FRANKE, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* I (Berlin 1930), p. 409 70-100 Jahre über den frommen Trug des Traums und der Gesandtschaft des Kaisers Ming ti (64 bzw. 67 n. Chr.) hinaufrücken. Dieser regierte 58-75; damit kämen wir fast genau in die Zeit der Śaka-Herrscher, die, wie oben bemerkt, den baktrischen Griechen folgten. Der zweite von ihnen ist Azes I dessen Thronbesteigung KONOW zwischen 50 u. 40 v. Chr. datiert (a. a.O. p. 25). So strebt alles der chronologischen Fixierung zu, dass diesser Fürst

gende wichtige Notiz las : nach dem Vinaya der Sarvāstivādin im chinesischen Tripiṭaka frägt der freigebige Bankier Anāthapiṇḍika den Buddha, ob, nachdem Bildnisse von ihm selbst nicht statthaft seien, wenigstens verehrende Bodhisattva angefertigt werden dürften. Buddha erteilt diese Erlaubnis. Der Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādin hingegen erhebt bei einer Anfrage desselben Anāthapiṇḍika keinen Einwand gegen Bilder des irdischen Buddha. In der ersten Erzählung könnte die Erinnerung an die Priorität der bildhaften Gestaltung des menschlichen Bodhisattva vor der des Übermenschen, des transzendenten Buddha nachklingen. Die Ansicht, die ich hierüber in einer Analyse der ältesten Buddha-Darstellungen[1] äusserte, meine ich dadurch bekräftigt zu sehen.

An dem wiederholten Auftreten einer Person auf demselben Bilde, wovor auch unsere mittelalterlichen Maler nicht zurückschreckten, nimmt die buddhistische Kunst keinen Anstoss ;[2] auf einer Stele von Sārnāth erscheint der Bodhisattva nicht weniger als sechs Mal.

Die Szene rechts auf Abb. 5 nun—das Mähen des Grases mit der Sichel—glaube ich an das Berner Fragment anflicken zu sollen. Die Hauptperson, nämlich der den Schnitter auf der Strasse gewahrende Bodhisattva in der dem Milieu entsprechenden "beruhigenden" Pose (*abhaya-madrā* mit ungeschlachter

den Aufstieg der Gandhāra Kunst und die Verpflanzung der Mahāyāna-Lehre aus Gandhāra, wo die Sekte der Sarvāstivādin unter den Überläufern vom "südlichen" zum "nordlichen" Buddhismus einflussreiche Vertreter hatte, nach China erlebt hat.

Der ältest bezeugte zum Buddhismus bekehrte Chinese ist Prinz Ying. Des Aufruhrs angeklagt wird er 65 n. Chr. vom Kaiser Ming ti, seinem Halbbruder, begnadigt, und dieser begründet seine Nachsicht damit, dass Ying die tiefe Weisheit des Huangti (des mythischen Kaisers der rekonstruierten Urzeit) und des Lao tse rezitiere und die Altare des Buddha verehre (FRANKE III 193f. p. 216 ; PELLIOT, *T'P.* 19 p. 34f. ; 268f.).

Im ersten und zweiten Jh. n.Chr. war der Buddhismus mit dem Taoismus beinahe zur Einheit verwachsen. Man verstieg sich sogar zu dem Glauben, Buddha sei eine Inkarnation des Lao tse. Für den Kult war die indische Religion der gebende Teil, und daraus wird verständlich, dass 'die Geschichte des Buddhismus in China im 1. u. 2. Jh., wie sie die Buddhisten selbst aufgezeichnet haben, eine Geschichte der Übersetzungen des Kanons ist.' Aus dem Ende dieses Zeitabschnittes (188 n. Chr.) wird auch der erste Fall berichtet, dass ein Chinese in den buddhistischen Mönchsorden eintrat ; er hat sich als Übersetzer und Originalschriftsteller bewahrt. Und ebenso lange sind der goldene Nimbus und die Waschung der Buddha-Statuen bezeugt, alteingebürgerte, noch heute übliche Bräuche. (PELLIOT, *BEFEO* 6 p. 376 ; 386 ; 390 ; 392 u. *T.'P* 19 p. 337 ; 341 ; 345 ; 385f. H. MASPERO, *BEFEO* 10 p. 228ff. ; BAGCHI, p. 73-76 ; XII).

1. *Münchner Jahrbuch d.bild. Kunst* 6 p. 155 ; 160ff. (ib. 5 p. 64 über das oben erwähnte Bildverbot).

2. FOUCHER, *Jātakas ...... de Barhut*, Bibliothèque de vulgar. Musée Guimet 30 (1908) p. 7, Sārnāth Catalogue (1914) p. 187 ; L. BACHHOFER, *Frühindische Plastik* I (München 1929) p. 28f. Für China s. S. W. BUSHELL, *Chinese Art*² II (London 1909) p. 111.

Hand) ist da, und die Reihenfolge der Einzelakte von rechts nach links folgt eingebürgerter Gewohnheit, die auch aus Abb. 4 ersichtlich ist.[1]

Die volle Bedeutung unserer Episode erhellt erst aus ihren Abwandlungen. Im 8. Jahrhundert hat man auf Java das imposanteste Denkmal der buddhistischen Lande aufgerichtet, den Barabuḍur.[2] Auf der ersten Galerie schildern 120 Reliefskulpturen das Leben Buddhas bis zur ersten Predigt in Benares und zwar vorwiegend in engem Anschluss an den Lalitavistara der den Erdenwandel des Erhabenen in der gleichen Abgrenzung verherrlicht. Schon FOUCHER I p. 391 hat für die uns interessierende Szene hierauf hingewiesen; in N. J. KROM'S inzwischen erschienenem 'The Life of Buddha on the Stūpa of Barabuḍur according to the Lalitavistara-text' (Hague 1926) ist es Bild 90 (Linke Seite hier von Abb. 6). Die knieende Stellung des Schnitters entspricht dem Berner Relief; die anderen Gandhāra-Darstellungen und die aus Sāñcī zeigten ihn stehend. Aber jetzt ist es kein geduckter Mann aus dem Volke mehr der ganz in Unterwürfigkeit aufgeht! Die in Sāñcī getrennten Handlungen des Graspflückens und der Überreichung sind auf Java vereint in die Pose des Schnitters gelegt, der mit der Rechten pflückt und mit der Linken ein Bündel dem auf dem Lotussockel stehenden Bodhisattva entgegenstreckt. Dieser trägt ganz in der Gupta-Manier (diese Kunstepoche erreicht ihre Höhe im 5. u. 6. Jh.), die sich in der Kolonialkultur Indiens viele Jahrhunderte länger als in der Heimat erhalten hat,[3] durchsichtige, bis zum Hals geschlossene Kleidung. Dass das Grasbündel wie ein Stock aussieht (man denke nicht wie KROM an ein schaufelähnliches Ende—dort ist die abgebrochene Hand des Bodhisattva), besagt nichts; denn das Gras, in das er hineingreift, ist genau so derb und steif stilisiert wie das daraus geformte Bündel. Hierbei spricht wohl auch das grobkörnige Gestein, der vulkanische Trachyt, mit.—Ist auch Java ein Kapitel für sich, so darf man doch sagen, dass das Bildwerk der ältesten indischen Plastik näher steht als den Gandhāra-Arbeiten. Gleich diesen ist es auf Raumausfüllung bedacht, aber das Ziel ist nicht mehr Naturtreue, sondern ornamentale Wirkung.

Etwa 300 Jahre jünger sind die im Innenkorridor eingelassenen Steinreliefs der prächtigen ca. 1090 vollendeten Ānanda-Pagode in Pagan (Oberbirma). Lehnten sich die javanischen Bilder an den wohl am schnellsten volkstümlich gewordenen Sanskrittext, so wurde für diese inhaltlich fast genau am gleichen Punkt haltmachende Folge von 80 Nummern in der Hauptsache, wie SEIDENSTÜCKER nachgewiesen hat, ein zwar in Pāli geschrie-

1. Entsprechend FOUCHER I p. 392f., wo fig. 199 die Fortsetzung von 198 (verdruckt 190!) ist und l i n k s folgt. Auch in den Malereien aus Tun-huang (9.-10.Jh.) scheint die Reihenfolge von rechts nach links die übliche zu sein: Aurel STEIN, *Serindia* II (Oxford 1921) p. 853.

2. Der Barabuḍur lange vor 778 n.Chr. angefangen: J. L. MOENS, *Tijdschr. Ind. taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 77 (1937) p. 418; 477.

3. Ebenso bewahrte man im Kashmīr-Tale die klassischen Kunstformen in Skulptur u. Architektur, länger: FOUCHER, Les images indiennes de la Fortune, *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale* 1 (Paris 1913) p. 137.

benes, aber doch in der überlieferten Fassung jungeres Opus zur Vorlage gewählt ; es ist die Einleitung zu den Jātaka, der berühmten folkloristischen Sammlung von Buddha's Vorgeburten (Nidānakathā, Abschnitt 2, Avidūrenidāna, ca 5. Jh.). Die Bilderreihe, in ihrer orthodoxen Gebundenheit den Kalvarienbergstationen des Katholizismus vergleichbar, zeigt, nicht zuletzt in der Formung von Gesicht und Händen, ein grosses Können. Wir holen aus ihr Nummer 69 bis 74 nach der Zählung der SEIDENSTÜCKER'schen Bearbeitung heraus ; die gleichzeitig erschienene von DUROISELLE bringt weniger Abbildungen.[1] Ein gut Teil Pedanterie spricht aus dieser Serie und ihren Aufschriften. Der Schnitter Sotthiya (zum Namen siehe unten p. 246 ff.) erscheint auf Nr. 69 (Abb. 7), und die Beschriftung nennt ihn auf diesem und dem nächsten Bilde als den Spender von 8 Handvoll Gras, um dann den Wechsel des Standorts des Bodhisattva von der südlichen, dann zum westlichen, nördlichen und schliesslich zu der allein richtigen östlichen Seite[2] langatmig zu registrieren. Im übrigen finden wir auf Nr. 69 die geöffneten Hände empfangsbereit für das von Sotthiya in beiden Händen getragene Gras, auf 70 hält der Bodhisattva das von Ellbogen zu Ellbogen reichende Grasbündel (man erinnere sich seiner Länge auf der javanischen Platte) mit den umgebogenen Fingern beider Hände. In diesen ruht es noch auf 71, aber schon zum Ablegen bereit ; auf 72 ist es in der Rechten vereint ; 73 zeigt die leise Biegung des Körpers nach rechts zum Niederlegen des Grases, die Linke zieht das Gewand über die Schulter herauf. Im letzten Bilde 74, wo hinter den üblichen Spitzbogen-Nimbus noch das Blattwerk des Bodhi-Baumes tritt, haben sich die ausgeschütteten Gräser von selbst zu einem Polster gefügt, auf dem er in der viel berühmten die Zeugenschaft der Erdgöttin anrufenden Stellung seinen Sitz einnimmt.

Bemerkenswert ist an dem Schnitter, dessen kleine Figur von der Grösse des Bodhisattva gemäss den für solche Zeichnungen vorgeschriebenen Regeln sichtlich betont absticht, die, man möchte sagen auf einen Pagen zugeschnittene, adrette Kleidung nebst den Schmuckzutaten. Eine ähnliche Vornehm-

1. K. SEIDENSTÜCKER, *Süd-buddhistische Studien.* I. Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Ananda-Tempels zu Pagan (Hamburg 1916) ; Ch DUROISELLE, The stone sculptures in the Ananda Temple at Pagan, *Annual Report Arch. Survey of India* 1913-14 (Calcutta 1917) p. 63-9f. Auch die neue Veroffentlichung DUROISELLE'S The Ananda Temple at Pagan, *Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India,* Nr. 56 (Delhi 1937) nimmt von SEIDENSTÜCKER'S Arbeit keine Notiz.

2. Die bekannte kultische Rechtsumwandlung, vgl. J. v. NEGELEIN, Die Begriffe rechts u. links in der indischen Mantik, ZII. 6 (Lpz. 1928) p. 37ff. ; s. auch Johs. NOBEL, *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (Lpz. 1937) p. 47.—Erst zuletzt ergibt sich durch die Kehrtwendung beim Niedersetzen die Wendung des Rückens zum Bodhi-Baum und die des Antlitzes gegen Osten ; das ist öfters missverstanden worden, so von Spence HARDY, *Manual of Buddhism* (London 1853) p. 170 u. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist Birth Stories.* Transl. I (London 1880) p. 96. Der *Lalitavistara* spricht summarisch von sieben Drehungen nach rechts, deren letzte den Blick nach Osten freilegt. s. E. FOUAUX'S Übersetzg., *Annales du Musée Guimet* 6 (Paris 1884) p. 247f. ; E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Legende vom Leben des Buddha* (Berlin 1929) p. 148f.



Abb. 5. Steinrelief v. d. Innenseite des rechten Torpfeilers, Sāñcī. Museum Sāñcī. Photo v. Director General of Archæology, New Delhi.



Abb. 7. Steinrelief, Ānanda-Tempel, Pagan. Nach SEIDENSTÜCKER, *Süd-buddhistische Studien*, I, Abb. 69.



Abb. 6. Teil eines Steinreliefs von Barabuḍur. Nach KROM, *The Life of Buddha*, Taf. 90.



Abb 8 Chinesiches Aquarell. Nach DORÉ, *Vie illustrée du Bouddha Çakyamouni*, p. 110.

heit sahen wir auf dem Barabuḍur, sodass die Vermutung aufsteigt dass hier bereits ein neuer Zug der Legende mitwirkt. Dieser wird aufgedeckt durch drei jüngere Belege aus China und Tibet, die ich meinem Anschauungsmaterial noch anzuschliessen habe. Das, recht naive chinesische Aquarell aus dem Jahre 1808, das Abb. 8 nach H. DORÉ, Vie illustrée du Bouddha Çakyamouni (Variétés sinol. 57, Chang-hai 1929), p. 110 wiedergibt, trägt die Unterschrift "Sacra' (Indra) coupe l'herbe". Der Grasmäher erscheint wie in Abb. 5 (und ev. Abb. 1) zweimal, jetzt aber mit Nimbus ausgestattet, sowohl beim Schneiden wie beim Überreichen des Bündels.

Und hierdurch wird die Nebenszene der dritten Bildtafel bei J. HACKIN, Les scènes figurées de la vie du Buddha d'après des peintures tibétaines, Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale 2 (Paris 1916)—im Guide-Catalogue du Musée Guimet, Coll. bouddhiques (Paris 1923), Taf. 19 in kleinerer Wiedergabe—verständlich. Vor dem sitzenden Bodhisattva stehen zwei göttliche Wesen; das obere bringt in beiden Händen ein Grasbündel, das untere—ganz gleich in Gesicht und Kleidung—hebt *ein* Bündel aufwärts, ein zweites etwas abwärts und zwar, wohin auch der Blick geht, in die Richtung eines Stalles mit zwei Ochsen. Deutung: Svastika, der verkappte Indra, wie im chinesischen Bild zweimal dargestellt (aber ohne Nimbus) füttert erst die Ochsen[1] mit Gras und begibt sich dann mit einer Grasspende zum Bodhisattva. Das Bild gehört zu der von Bacot 1911-12 für das Musée Guimet aufgebrachten Sammlung, deren eine Hälfte Haupt- und Nebenszenen kombiniert, während die andere Miniaturbilder um einen Zentral-Buddha gruppiert. Zu letzterer Kategorie stellt sich ein ungefähr gleichaltriges Tempelbild, das Ernst WALDSCHMIDT in seinem schönen und nützlichen Buche "Die Legende vom Leben des Buddha" (Berlin 1929) veröffentlicht hat (nach Seite 176, siehe die Nebenszene oben halbrechts vom zentralen Buddha). Die Lesung der beigegebenen tibetischen Worte macht der Raster auch unter dem Vergrösserungsglas unmöglich. Umso dankbarer bin ich für W.'s briefliche Mitteilung, dass gemäss seinen Notizen dort von dem Grasschneider Svastika und einem Zusammentreffen (mit dem Bodhisattva) die Rede ist: tibetisch *rtsa chod bkra-śis* (in abgekürzter Form wie S. C. DAS, Dictionary p. 71) *mjal.* Die Gesten sind in der Wiedergabe noch erkennbar: Svastika reicht das Gras mit beiden Händen; der stehende Bodhisattva fasst das Ende des Bündels mit der Linken, der rechte Unterarm biegt sich im Winkel zur Brust hinauf.

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Nach diesem Überblick der Svastika-Szenen in der bildenden Kunst sei parallel dazu der literarhistorische Entwicklungsgang, der schon in das Vorangehende leise hineinspielte, skizziert. Von dem demütigen Handlanger des

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1. Es ist nicht nötig, in ihnen tierische Berühmtheiten der Fabelliteratur zu wittern; sie frönen der trivialen Beschäftigung des Fressens wie im Fibelvers *tṛṇāny atti mukhena saḥ*, cf. H. JACOBI, Indischer Schülerwitz, *ZII 6* p. 178.

Bodhisattva, der den geistigen Weckruf zum Buddha in sich vernimmt, verlautet im alten Pāli-Kanon kein Sterbenswörtchen.[1] Auch nachdem seine Rolle kreiert ist, tritt er noch nicht gleich ins helle Rampenlicht. Im Buddhacarita bleibt er, wie wir gesehen haben, als namenloser Schnitter bescheiden im Hintergrunde. Der knappen Fassung dieser Dichtung fügt auch die tibetische Übersetzung[2] kein Wort hinzu und im selben Geleise verharrt die chinesische Bearbeitung.[3] Von den mongolischen Nachrichten über das Leben des Buddha scheint nach J. KLAPROTH'S "Asia Polyglotta" (Paris 1823), Anhang p. 129 ff. Ähnliches zu gelten, und auch in der birmanischen Volksüberlieferung, auf der Bishop BIGANDET 'The life, or legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese (London 1880) p. 83f. fusst, spürt man noch einen Niederschlag dieser Schlichtheit.

Wie grell sticht hiergegen der Wortschwall im *Lalitavistara* und gar im *Mahāvastu* (der grosse[4] Vorgang) ab; in letzterem, dem ausgesponnensten, geschmacklos kompilierten Buddha-Epos, sind gleich zwei Versionen der Bodhi-Erlangung untergebracht! Für den Augenblick interessiert uns daran nur eine Einzelheit: der Schnitter hat plötzlich einen Namen; er heisst Svastika—d.i. bekanntlich das Sanskritwort für das Hakenkreuz. Das will sagen, dass man aus dem ältesten Wahrzeichenschatze dasjenige Glückssymbol herausgeholt hat, dessen Linien dem Inder zu allen Zeiten vertraut waren. Nur ein paar Hinweise:

Sprachlich und zeichnerisch taucht es in der frühesten indischen Geschich-

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1. Für solche Feststellungen von Wert E. H. BREWSTER, *The life of Gotama the Buddha* (compiled exclusively from the Pali Canon). With an introductory Note by C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS (London 1926). Zwei deutsche Werke sind hier ganz übersehen: J. DUTOIT, *Das Leben des Buddha.* Eine Zusammenstellung alter Berichte aus den kanonischen Schriften der südlichen Buddhisten. Aus dem Pāli übs. u. erläutert (Leipzig 1906) und Herm. OLDENBERG, *Reden des Buddha.* Lehre, Verse, Erzählungen, übs. & eingeleitet (München 1922). I. Teil. Vom Leben und von der Person des Buddha (schliessend mit p. 119). BREWSTER'S Arbeit folgte in kurzem Abstand E. J. THOMAS, *Life of Buddha* (London 1927), ohne Beschränkung auf die ältesten Texte und deshalb auch Sotthiya erwähnend (p. 71).

2. Frdr. WELLER, *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghosa* (Lpz. 1926; 1928) II p. 211f; 124f. Die Übersetzung von XII, 118 (=119 in JOHNSTON'S Ausgabe) "Nachdem darauf der vom besten der Schlangen (dämonen) Gepriesene *von einer* Lerche reine Gräser genommen hatte" beruht auf seltsamer Verwechslung von skr. *lāvaka* = *lābaka* "Lerche" und *lāvaka* "Schnitter".

3. Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, a life of Buddha by Aśvaghosha Bodhisattva, transl. from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A.D. 420 and from Chinese into English by S. BEAL, Sacred Books of the East 19 (Oxford 1883) p. 146f.; cf. JOHNSTON a.a.O. I p. XII f. auch J. NOBEL a.a.O. p. XII will diesen Dharmarakṣa durch Dharmakṣema ersetzt sehen.

4. *Lalitavistara*, Textausgabe v. S. LEFMANN I (Halle 1902) p. 285ff.: Übs. v. Ph. Ed. FOUCAUX (oben Ann. 11) p. 244 f. (zu p. 246 ist für Vers 55 Vol. *19* p. 60 heranzuziehen).—*Mahāvastu*—Ausgabe v. Emile SENART II (P. 1890) p. 264 (cf. p. XXVII) u. p. 399 (cf. p. XXXV). Beide Werke für Vorläufer des *Buddhacarita* zu halten, wie E. WINDISCH, *Buddha's Geburt* (Lpz. 1908) p. 157; cf. S. LEFMANN II (1908) p. X es tut, ist sicher irrig.

te auf; die alten Münzprägungen führen es bei den Symbolen der Staatshoheit. Und in unseren Tagen malt es der nordindische Kaufmann auf das Vorsatzblatt seiner Geschäftsbücher; zum Schutz vor dem bösen Blick kritzelt man es auf die Mauer neben den Türpfosten. In der Heilkunde belegt man mit seinem Namen sowohl den kreuzförmigen Verband als auch medizinische Geräte zur Beschwörung. Mit dem Male auf der Brust des Buddha verbreitete sich der Svastika über China und das übrige Ostasien.[1] Am Unterlauf des Indus jedoch lässt er sich, wie aus J. MARSHALL'S "Mohenjo-daro" (London 1931; Index. p. 715) ersichtlich ist, bis in die chalkolithische Periode um 3000 v. Chr. verfolgen. Ist da wirklich, soviel auch von der dortigen archäologischen Ausbeute in das Euphratland weist, jeder indo-arische Einschlag so glatt, wie es bisher geschehen ist, auszuschliessen? Das schon für jene Jahrtausende behauptete Einströmen hittitischer Kultur in den Orient entkleidet solche Mutmassungen des charakters der baren Unmöglichkeit.

Die Pāli-Sprache wandelt in ihrer Konsonanten-Angleichung *Svastika* zu *Sotthiya;* diese Form des Namens unseres "Helden" treffen wir auf Ceylon, in Burma und in Siam.[2] Daneben taucht vereinzelt auf Ceylon und in China das Wort *Śānti* bzw. ein chinesisches Äquivalent auf;[3] dies ist ein Synonym von *svasti, maṅgala* und *bhadra,* das auch für W ü n s c h e des Wohlergehens gebraucht wird. Hierbei beachte man, dass Svastika und Śānti so wenig als Personennamen, die gang und gäbe gewesen wären, anzusehen sind, wie Māyā und Ānanda, zu deutsch "Zauber" und "Wonne"—so heissen die Mutter und der Vetter und Lieblingsjünger Buddha's.[4]

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1. W. CROOKE, *The popular religion and folk-lore of Northern India* I (London 1896) p. 11 f.; Reinhold F. G. MÜLLER, *Archiv für Gesch. der Medizin* 30 (1937) p. 94; J. FILLIOZAT, *Etude de démonologie indienne* (Paris 1937) p. 12ff.—China, wo der Svastika-Dekor aus dem kunstgewerblichen Motivenschatz nicht wegzudenken ist, übernahm den Svastika, eines der Schönheitszeichen Buddha's, von der durch Jahrhunderte gepriesenen Mahābodhi-Statue in Bodh Gayā (s. meinen "Buddha im Fürstenschmuck" (München 1932) p. 16f.); auf dem Buddha-Körper hinwiederum mag er dem Jina-Vorbild seine Entstehung verdanken; cf. H. v. GLASENAPP, *Der Jainismus* (Berlin 1925) p. 383; 491.

2. Nidānakathā, s. oben p. 244 und SEIDENSTUCKER a.a.O. p. 19ff.; Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (cf. WINTERNITZ II p. 192ff.) in E. W. BURLINGAME'S *Buddhist Legends* I, Harvard Or. Series 28 (Cambridge 1921) p. 196. Jinacarita ed. and transl. by W. H. D. ROUSE, *Journal of the Pāli Text Soc.* 1904/5 (London 1905) p. 15. 48. Der Verfasser Vanaratana Medhaṅkara lebte auf Ceylon im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts. Die Übersetzung gibt *sotthiya dvijo* unrichtig durch "a highborn, Brahmin" wieder, indem sie das Wort, was an sich möglich, als Äquivalent von skr. *śrotriya* auffasst.—Für Birma s. oben Anm. 10, für Siam H. ALABASTER, *The Wheel of the Law* (Lond. 1871) p. 147f.

3. R. Spence HARDY, *A Manual of Buddhism, in its modern development,* transl. fr. Singhalese mss. (Lond. 1853; die 2. Aufl. ist mir nicht zugänglich) p. 169ff. W. W. ROCKHILL, *The Life of the Buddha* (Lond. 1884) p. 31.—Für China s. unten Anm. 1, p. 249.

4. Auch WINDISCH, *Buddha's Geburt* p. 139f. hält es für wahrscheinlich, dass der Name Māyā erst später gegeben worden ist; er tauche im Kanon erst

Hielt man aber erst einmal soweit, die Personalien des Grasmähers zu Protokoll zu nehmen, dann durfte er auch nicht als Kastenloser in das Gedächtnis späterer Zeiten eingehen. In Gandhāra ist seine äussere Erscheinung so plebejisch, dass FOUCHER I p. 390 ; 393 ; II p. 10 ihn bei der niedrigsten von der traditionellen—und dennoch nur im Sinne einer gewissen Rechnungsbegleichung realen !—vier Kasten, ja gar bei den noch unter dieser " Gemeinschaft " stehenden Paria als Beispiel heranzieht ; in Tibet scheint man den Grasmäher zum Grashändler[1] befördert zu haben ; erfreu sich doch der Kaufmann mit seiner offenen Hand in den buddhistischen Schriften hohen Ansehens ! Auf Ceylon und in Siam aber steigt Sotthiya unvermittelt in die Brahmanen-Kaste auf ;[2] in der modern-indischen Redewendung " ein armer Brahmane aus Benares " schimmert vielleicht noch die mitleidige Erinnerung an die Herkunft aus obskureren Schichten durch.[3] Den Gipfelpunkt indess erklimmt die chinesische Übersetzung des im Sanskrit nicht erhaltenen Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra ;[4] Svastika's Eingreifen offenbart sich nunmehr als göttliche Teilnahme an dem weltbewegenden Geschehnis und wird in der Weise begründet, dass Indra in seinem Himmel den Wunsch des Bodhisattva nach einem Grassitze erraten habe und in der Gestalt des Schnitters ihm in den Wew getreten sei. Dass die jüngeren Buddha-Biografien des chinesisch-französischen Büchermarkts in Wort und Bild diese auch dem

in dem aus jüngeren Zeiten stammenden Buddhavaṃsa auf, in dem die buddhistische Mythologie schon voll entwickelt ist.—Zur Etymologie & Bedeutungswandlung des Wortes māyā s. W. NEISSER, *Festschrift Hillebrandt* (Halle 1923) p. 144-8, dessen Ausführungen zu COOMARASWAMY, Nirmāṇa-Kāya, *JRAS.* 1938 p. 81-4 ergänzend heranzuziehen sind.

1. ROCKHILL a.a.O. ; tibetischer Lalitavistara, Text u. Üs. von Ph. Ed. FOUCAUX (Paris 1847-1848) I p. 250ff., II p. 273ff. Vielleicht ist dieser " marchand d'herbes " eine Reminiszenz an Śuddhaceta, den " Çreṣṭhi riche ", der den Bettelmönchen in Hunger und Kälte hilft ; Dvāviṃśati-Avadāna 17, übs. v. FEER, *Annales du Musée Guimet* 5 (Paris 1883) p. 549ff.

2. s. Anm. 4, p. 246. u. 1, p. 247 (*Jinacarita*, ALABASTER, HARDY).

3. Nepalesische Nachdichtung als Ersatz für den Schluss des *Buddhacarita* (verf. von Amṛtānanda 1830) : COWELL, Sacred Books of the East 49 (Oxf. 1894) p. 192.

4. =Auszug (aus der Häuslichkeit)—Lehrtext ; gekürzte engl. Übertragung von S. BEAL, *Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha from the Chinese-Sanskrit* (Lond. 1875 p. 195ff. ; die Übersetzung ins Chinesische besorgte im Jahre 587/8 der aus Puruṣapura (Peshāwar) in Gandhāra gebürtige Kṣatriya Jānagupta (Namensrekonstruktion nach B. NANJIO, *Catalogue of the Chinese transl. of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (Oxf. 1883) p. 431 ; 433 ; BEAL, Fo-Sho-hing-tsan-king p. XIX ; NOBEL a.a.O. p. XIV ; sie wird auch, wie mich Dr. Fr. Jos. MEIER (München) gütigst belehrt, durch den Artikel im Bukkyō Daijiten *3* (Tōkiō 1933) p. 2172 bestätigt ; sonst vgl. O. FRANKE, Geschichte des chines. Reiches 3 p. 332 ; BAGCHI, a.a.O. p. 276 ; WINTERNITZ II p. 248 ; JOHNSTON I p. XIV ; 163ff. ; II p. XXVIII. Hier erscheint nicht allein der Erasatzname Śānti (s. oben p. 247), sondern auch die neue Einmischung des Gottes Indra ; chronologisch ist also die Bekanntschaft der javanischen u. birmanischen Künstler (Abb. 6-7) mit dieser Lesart durchaus wahrscheinlich.

Tibeter einleuchtende Drehung mitmahen,[1] ist bei ihrer gemeinsamen Quelle, in deren Rinnsal Zuflüsse aus späterer Zeit münden, ohne weiteres begreiflich. Es ist aber recht wohl möglich, dass auch Java und Birma, wo das Gebaren des Schnitters etwas von einem Fürstensohn oder Höfling an sich hat (Abb. 5-6), von dieser Auslegung wussten. Auf alle Fälle werden wir aufs neue darüber belehrt, dass Indra neben der Dual-Einheit Rudra-Śiva derjenige Gott aus altvedischer Zeit ist, der sich zu Mimus und Metamorphose am gefügigsten bequemt; nebenbei bemerkt, kann man auch Verbindungslinien zwischen den Mythenbereichen der genannten Götter entdecken.

Ad vocem " Indra " muss ich kurz zu einer negativen Festellung auf die Abbildungsliteratur zurückgreifen. Im Jahrbuch der Asiaschen Kunst 1925, p. 73-76 hat L. BACHHOFER eine Pfeilerfigur aus Bodh Gayā besprochen und mit der Beischrift " Indra als Brahmane Shanti " versehen; in seinem prachtigen Tafelwerk " Frühindische Plastik " I (München 1929) p. 32; Tafel 39 kehren Bild und Erklärung wieder. Der belesene Verfasser ist wohl inzwischen von seiner Ansicht zurückgekommen; denn es ist ausgeschlossen, dass hier Indra, sei als Gott, sei es in Brahmanenverkleidung, vor uns steht. Von anderen Kriterien abgesehen klärt schon das Huftier (Pferd?) mit dem Kopf einer Löwin, auf das als Standtier (vāhana) der Dämon die Füsse setzt, die Sachlage. Die Plastik, ein typischer Tempelhüter (dvārapāla), hat weder mit Buddha's Erleuchtung, noch mit den Biedermeier-Ausmalungen des Geschichtchens von dem Schnitter und dem hilfreichen Gotte Indra etwas gemein; FOUCHER ist also mit gutem Bedacht " an der Figur vorübergegangen " (a.a.O. p. 74).

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Ich weiss recht wohl, dass es nicht damit getan ist, das Berner Relief und seine Repliken als isolierte Gruppe zu betrachten. Will man den Gesamtkomplex von Grund auf verfolgen, so tauchen religionsphilosophische und literarhistorische Fragen auf, die sich weder ihrer Zahl noch ihrer Tragweite nach mit flüchtigen Sätzen abtun lassen. Sie betreffen die Tiefe des Yoga-Einflusses auf den Lebenslauf Buddha's, die vedischen Präambeln zu Svastika's Grasbündel und zur Erscheinung des Gottes Māra sowie anderes Urväter-Volksgut, das der Buddhismus aus geheimer Stille zum Leben erweckt hat. Ich beabeichtige hierauf in dem später erscheinenden Schlussteile dieses Aufsatzes einzugehen.

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1. L. WIEGER, *Les Vies chinoises du Buddha* (Ho-kien fou 1913) p. 62f.; H. DORÉ *Vie ill.*, (oben p. 245) p. 110f. (dazu L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Melanges chinois et bouddhiques* I (Bruxelles 1932) p. 421-3—Für Tibet s. ROCKHILL a.a.O. p. 31; HACKIN, oben p. 245.

THE SPURIOUS IN KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA

By

H. C. SETH, Amraoti.

In spite of the variety of subjects dealt in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* which give it an encyclopaedic appearance, there is a unity of treatment which indicates that it is the work of a single person. The main underlying theme is the creation of a big empire out of small warring principalities and the establishment of a firm administration over the whole of it. As regards the latter aspect of the work JACOBI correctly observes that it is "a document of administrative law, the outline of Magna Charta, if not the legislative work of Kaiser Candragupta, which would raise the Emperor even above the Roman Kaiser Justinian".[1] If we believe in the internal and external evidence which attribute this work to Viṣṇugupta, the Great Chancellor of the Maurya, Candragupta, then this work was, perhaps, written towards the beginning of Candragupta's empire, when starting from his base in north-western India he had risen triumphant over the mighty Nandas. This will greatly explain the Machiavellian diplomacy advocated in the *Artha śāstra* in dealing with the neighbouring kings and the republics, which would be so unnecessary after the empire was well established for sometime. The drama *Mūdrārākṣasa* fully illustrates how the great minister of Candragupta made a full and effective use of the above policy, subjecting everything else to the main issue, namely, securing firmly the supremacy of Candragupta over the kingdom of Magadha. The drama also suggests that Cāṇakya retired from active politics soon after the conquest of Magadha by Candragupta, after which, perhaps he devoted his mighty intellect to the writing of the great political treatise for the guidance of the newly founded empire.

One thing that strikes us as we read carefully through the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* is the rational and realistic outlook of Viṣṇugupta. He does not believe in chance. Everything is carefully foreseen and provided for. In demolishing the Nandas and securing the throne of Magadha for Candragupta, it is his mighty intellect that he depends upon.

एका केवलमर्थसाधनविधौ सेनाशतेभ्योऽधिका ।
नन्दोन्मूलनदृष्टवीर्य्यमहिमा बुद्धिस्तु मा गान्मम ॥ (Act. I)

His successful diplomacy and intrigues bring about the desired result Rākṣasa, the popular minister of the Nandas, is reconciled to Candragupta

1. Quoted by B. K. SARKAR. "Kautilya, Economic Planning and Climatology" *IHQ.*, XI, 328ff.

and all opposition to him in Magadha is completely rooted out. Because of almost a superhuman task which he had achieved in his life-time, the Indian literary traditions represented Viṣṇugupta as the master of witch-craft, who destroyed the Nandas by performing murderous rites.[1]

As we carefully read through the *Arthaśāstra*, in the main we get in it the same picture of Viṣṇugupta as we get in the drama. He is thoroughly rationalistic and realistic in his outlook. The division of sciences in the opening chapter of the Arthaśāstra is symptomatic of his rationalism. He assigned the first place and the greatest importance to Ānīvikshakī, compiising of Sānkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata. To the Vēdas he gives a secondary position, and of these also he enumerates primarily three—Sāma, Ṛk and Yajus. It is only grudgingly that he seems to recognise Atharvavēda, the store-house of spells and sorcery, amongst the Vēdas. (सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदास्त्रयस्त्रयी अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः Bk. 1, 3). The same rationalism is indicated in the theory of sovereignty. According to him the strength of arm guarantees sovereignty, and the ultimate sanction of sovereignty lies in the promotion of the welfare of the subjects. Only ceaseless activity on the part of the King can achieve this

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1. Compare तत्रोपकरणे दत्ते गुप्तं तेनैव मन्त्रिणा ।
स चाणाक्यो द्विजः क्वापि गत्वा कृत्यामसाधयत् ॥
तद्वशाद्योगनन्दोथ दाहज्वरमवाप्य सः ।
सप्तमे दिवसे प्राप्ते पञ्चत्वं समुपागमत् ॥

Kathāsaritsāgara

चाणक्यनाम्ना तेनाथ शकटालगृहे रहः ।
कृत्यां विधाय सप्ताहात्सपुत्रो निहतो नृपः ॥

Bṛhatkathāmañjarī

Even the drama *Mudrārākṣasa*, though it wants to draw the picture of Cāṇakya as winning against the Nandas by his power of diplomacy and wit, at one place seems to suggest the practice of such rites by Cāṇakya.

राज्ञां चूडामणीन्दुद्युतिखचितशिखे मूर्ध्नि विन्यस्तपादः
स्वैरेवोत्पाद्यमानं किमिति विषहते मौर्य आज्ञाविघातम् ।
कौटिल्यः कोपितोऽपि स्वयमभिचरणे ज्ञातदुःखप्रतिज्ञो
दैवात् पूर्णप्रतिज्ञः पुनरपि न करोत्यायतिज्यानिमितः ॥

This is the only place in the drama where such a suggestion is made and here too for "अभिचरेण" (in the third line) we have another reading "अतिचरेण" which will not suggest that in destroying the Nandas Cāṇakya indulged in any supernatural rites. The belief that Cāṇakya used witch-craft in destroying the Nandas will go against the very spirit of the drama.

The Jain writer Somadevasūri perhaps reported a correct tradition that Cāṇakya got Nanda King killed through the agency of a spy.

श्रूयते हि किल चाणक्यस्तीक्ष्णदूतप्रयोगेणैकं नन्दं जघानेति । —*Nīti*, 13.

end.[1] The author of the *Arthaśāstra* is no believer in superstition. He denounces the practice of consulting stars.

नक्षत्रमतिपृच्छन्तं बालमर्थोऽतिवर्तते ।
अर्थो ह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः ॥ (*Arthaśāstra*. IX. 4)

In Book XIII the author of the *Arthaśāstra* tells how the superstitious beliefs of the enemies in snake gods and goddesses and other supernatural phenomena could be exploited through the agency of the spies to heighten the glory of the conqueror. It is obvious that the author himself does not believe in the reality of the miracles, but regards them as tricks which could be played upon those who foolishly believed in these things. We may refer to some of these tricks here. "When the conqueror is desirous of seizing an enemy's territory, he should infuse enthusiastic spirit among his own men and frighten his enemy's people by giving publicity to his power of omniscience and close association with gods.

"Proclamation of his omniscience is as follows : rejection of his chief officers when their secret domestic and other private affairs are known ; revealing the names of traitors after receiving information from spies specially employed to find out such men ; pointing out the impolitic aspect of any course of action suggested to him ; and pretensions to the knowledge of foreign affairs by means of his power to read omens and signs invisible to others when information about foreign affairs is just received through a domestic pigeon which has brought a sealed letter.

"Proclamation of his association with gods is as follows : holding conversation with, and worshipping, the spies who pretend to be the gods of fire or altar when through a tunnel they come to stand in the midst of fire, altar, or in the interior of a hollow image ; holding conversation with, and worshipping, the spies who rise up from water and pretend to be the gods and goddesses of Nāgas : placing under water at night a mass of sea-foam mixed with burning oil, and exhibiting it as the spontaneous outbreak of fire, when it is burning in a line ; sitting on a raft in water, which is secretly fastened by a rope to a rock ; such magical performance in water as is usually done at night by bands of magicians, using the sack of abdomen or womb of water animals to hide the head and the nose, and applying to the nose the oil, prepared from the entrails of red spotted deer and the serum of the flesh of the crab, crocodile, propoise and otter ; holding conversation, as though with women of Varuṇa or of Nāga, when they are performing magi-

1. राज्ञो हि व्रतमुत्थानं यज्ञः कायानुशासनम् ।
दक्षिणा वृत्तिसाम्यं च दीक्षितस्याभिषेचनम् ॥
प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् ।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥
तस्मान्नित्योत्थतो राजा कुर्यादर्थानुशासनम् ।
अर्थस्य मूलमुत्थानमनर्थस्य विपर्ययः ॥ (*Arthaśāstra* I. 19)

cal tricks in water ; and sending out volumes of smoke from the mouth on occasions of anger.

" Astrologers, soothsayers, horologists, story-tellers, as well as those who read the forebodings of every moment, together with spies and their disciples, inclusive of those who have witnessed the wonderful performances of the conqueror, should give wide publicity to the power of the king to associate with gods throughout his territory. Likewise in foreign countries, they should spread the news of gods appearing before the conqueror and of his having received from heaven weapons and treasure. Those who are well versed in horary and astrology and the science of omens should proclaim abroad that the conqueror is a successful expert in explaining the indications of dreams and in understanding the language of beasts and birds. They should not only attribute the contrary to his enemy, but also show to the enemy's people the shower of firebrand with the noise of drums on the day of the birth-star of the enemy......

" Getting into an alter at night in the vicinity of the capital city of the enemy and blowing through tubes or hollow reeds the fire contained in a few pots, some fiery spies may shout aloud : " We are going to eat the flesh of the king or of his ministers ; let the worship of the gods go on." Spies, under the guise of soothsayers and horologists may spread the news abroad. Spies, disguised as Nāgas and with their body besmeared with burning oil, may stand in the centre of a sacred pool of water or of a lake at night, and sharpening their iron swords or spikes, may shout aloud as before.

" Spies, wearing coats formed of the skins of bears and sending out volumes of smoke from their mouth, may pretend to be demons, and after circumambulating the city thrice from right to left, may shout aloud as before at a place full of the horrid noise of antelopes and jackals ; or spies may set fire to an altar or an image of a god covered with a layer of mica besmeared with burning oil at night, and shout aloud as before. Others may spread this news abroad ; or they may cause blood to flow out in floods from revered images of gods. Others may spread this news abroad and challenge any bold or brave man to come out to witness this flow of divine blood. Whoever accepts the challenge may be beaten to death by others with rods, making the people believe that he was killed by demons. Spies and other witnesses may inform the king of this wonder. Then spies, disguised as soothsayers and astrologers, may prescribe auspicious and expiatory rites to avert the evil consequences which would otherwise overtake the king and his country. When the king agrees to the proposal, he may be asked to perform in person special sacrifices and offerings with special mantras every night for seven days. Then while doing this he may be slain as before.

" In order to delude other kings, the conqueror may himself undertake the performance of expiatory rites to avert such evil consequences as the above, and thus set an example to others "[1].

1. *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.* R. SHAMASASTRY. (Eng. Tran.) P. 457ff.

It does not appear likely that a person who is so singularly rationalistic in his outlook and who denounces and derides superstitious beliefs will recommend and have faith in the efficacy of all sorts of weird practices which we find advocted at one or two places in the *Arthaśāstra*. In the chapter on "Remedies against national calamities" (Bk. IV Chap. III) along with several very rational suggestions we find the following.

Against pestilences—"milking the cows on cremation or burial grounds, burning the trunk of a corpse." Against rats—"on new and full moon days rats may be worshipped." Against snakes—"on new and full moon days snakes may be worshipped." Against tigers and other wild beasts—"on new and full moon days mountains may be worshipped. Against Demons—"on full and new moon days the worship of Chaityas may be performed by placing on a verandah offerings, such as an umbrella, the picture of an arm, and some goat's flesh. In all kinds of dangers from demons, the incantation, "We offer thee cooked rice," "shall be performed."[1]

Even more weird than these are the practices advocated in the Book XIV, the whole or at least a great part of which appears to be a subsequent addition, as the manner of treatment of the subjects in the *Arthaśāstra* and the symmetry of the work demand that it ends in Book XIII, which closes with the consolidation of and the establishment of peace over the conquered territory, all the methods of dealing with the external and internal enemies being already fully dealt with. We may refer here to a few of the gross absurdities advocated in the Book XIV.

"I take refuge with the god of fire and with all the godesses in the ten quarters, may all obstructions vanish and may all things come under my power. Oblation.

"Having fasted for four nights, one should on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month get a figure of a bull prepared from the bone of a man, and worship it, repeating the above mantra. Then a cart drawn by two bulls will be brought before the worshipper, who can (mount it and) drive in the sky and all that is connected with the sun and other planets of the sky.

"O, Chandali, Kumbhi, Tumba, Katuka, and Saragha, thou art possessed of the bhaga of woman, oblation to thee!

"When this mantra is repeated, the door will open and the inmates fall into sleep....

"When the figure of an enemy carved out of rājavṛkṣa is besmeared with the bile of a brown cow killed with a weapon on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month, it causes blindness (to the enemy).

"Having fasted for four nights and offered animal sacrifice on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month, one should get a few bolt-like pieces prepared from the bone of a man put to the gallows. When one

1. *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*. Dr. SHAMASASTRY, (Eng. Tran.) II. ed. P. 253ff.

of these pieces is put in the fæces or urine (of an enemy), it causes (his) body to grow in size; and when the same piece is buried under the feet or seat (of an enemy), it causes death by consumption, and when it is buried in the shop, fields, or the house (of an enemy), it causes him loss of livelihood.

"The same process of smearing and burying holds good with the bolt-like pieces (kilaka) prepared from vidyuddanda tree.

"When the nail of the little finger nimba, kama, madhu, the hair of a monkey, and the bone of a man, all wound round with the garment of a dead man, is buried in the house of, or is trodden down by, a man, that man with his wife, children and wealth will not survive three fortnights. . ...

"When a grand procession is being celebrated at night one should cut off the nipples of the udder of a dead cow and burn them in a torchlight flame. A fresh vessel should be plastered in the interior with the paste prepared from these burnt nipples, mixed with the urine of a bull. When this vessel, taken round the village in circumambulation from right to left, is placed below, the whole quantity of the butter produced by the cows will collect itself in the vessel.

"On the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month combined with the star of Pushya, one should thrust into the organ of procecreation of a dog or heat an iron seal (kālāyasīm mudrikām) and take it up when it falls down of itself. When with this seal in hand, a collection of fruits is called out, it will come of itself."[1]

Such and other similar practices advocated at few places in the *Arthaśātra* appear to be foreign to the work and are in contradiction to the true character of Viṣṇugupta as we have it in the rest of the text of *Arthaśāstra* or in the drama *Mudrārākṣasa*. They appear to be the interpolation of a later period when Tantrism had grown into a craze in India. It was, perhaps, at this period that the belief had also grown up that Viṣṇugupta destroyed the Nandas through black-magic.

The above morbid and foolish practices falsely attributed to Viṣṇugupta have done an incalculable harm to the memory of one of India's greatest figures. It is saddening to reflect how most of our ancient texts have been mercilessly tampered with to suit the passing whims of the centuries, down which they have travelled to us. Kauṭilya's great treatise on state-craft has been no exception to it. It is only when the *Arthaśāstra* is shorn of the morbid absurdities so foreign to the work that we can fully believe with BRELOER that "It is animated by a powerful mind, such as cannot be misled or confused. The work has thereby been conducted to the height of political thought."[2]

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1. *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.* Dr. SHAMASASTRY, (Eng. Trans.) P. 488 ff.
2. Quoted by B. K. SARKAR. "Kauṭilya, Economic planning and Climatology". *IHQ.* XI, 328ff.

The whole career of Viṣṇugupta Cāṇakya requires a careful investigation. Elsewhere[1] we have suggested that the Nanda origin of Candragupta as well as the story of Cāṇakya destroying Nandas because of a personal insult are literary fictions. Both Candragupta and Cāṇakya belonged to north-western India. Cāṇakya, perhaps, personally witnessed the weakness of a divided India in face of an invasion like that of Alexander. The vision of a united, strong and unconquerable India, which he then formed, he fully realised in his own life time. Many petty kingdoms, republics as well as the empire of Nandas had to give place to the well organised and efficiently administered Empire of the Great Maurya Candragupta, which extended not only over almost the whole mainland of India but far beyond into Afghanistan and Central Asia. It was the might of this great Empire which so easily repulsed and humbled Seleukos Nikator, and no foreign power dreamt of invading India so long as the Mauryas were strong.

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1. "Some Ṣide-lights on Cāṇakya, the Great Chancellor" *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I. No. 4.

INDRA'S WARS WITH ŚAMBARA

By

R. SHAMASASTRI, Mysore.

The Vedas frequently speak of Indra's war with Śambara and of the destruction of the latter's forts, the number of which is variously mentioned. In Ṛg. 1, 130, 7, the number is said to be ninety. In Ṛg. 2, 19, 6, and 4, 26, 3, it is said to be ninety-nine; and in 2, 14, 6, and 4, 30, 20, the number is one hundred. The forts are also spoken of as being of three colours, as black as iron on the earth, silvery white or gray in the atmosphere, and as yellow as gold in the sky. Various conjectures are made about the real nature of these wars. Some scholars took them to be the wars made by the advancing Aryans with the aboriginal tribes. But the description of the forts as being situated in the three regions of earth, air, and sky does not fit in with the above explanation. The *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* however, seems to contain a clue to unlock the mystery of the riddle. The passage runs as follows :—

> Savitāraṃ vitanvantaṃ anubadhnāti śambaraḥ.
> Āpapūrśambaraścaiva savitārepaso' bhūt.
> tyaṃ sutṛptam viditvaiva bahusōmagiraṃ vaśī.
> anvēti tugrō vakriyāṃ tam āyasūyantṣōmatripsuṣu.
> sa sangrāmastamōdyō' tyotah vāco gāḥ pipāti tat.
> sa tadgōbhistavātyetyanye rakṣasā ananvitāśca yē.

Tait. Ar. 1, 10.

> Amī ṛkṣā nihitāsa uccā naktaṃ dadṛśe kuhaciddivēyuh.
> Abdhāni varuṇasya vratāni vicākaśaccandramā nakṣatrameti.
> Apāgūhata savitā tṛbhīn sarvān divō andhasaḥ.
> Naktaṃ tānyabhavan dṛśe asthyasthnā sambhaviṣyamaḥ.
> Nāma nāmaiva nāma me napuṃsakaṃ pumāṅstryasmi.
> Sthāvaro' 'smyatha jaṅgamaḥ yaje 'yakṣi yaṣṭāhe ca.

Tait. Ar. 1, 11, 1-3.

Śambara follows the progressing sun; Śambara as well as Apapūḥ.

The sun became dim. Knowing him to be intoxicated after his drinking plenty of Soma[1] (the moon), the fierce and temperate demon follows the sun's plight, thinking of easy victory in the Soma-feasts. A battle ensues to cut through the pitch dark with horses. Speeches like the cows suckle

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1. Because it was a new-moon day when Gods are believed to drink of Soma completely.

the sun ; and being extolled by the praises he revives and excels other gods, who were not face to face with the demon, or were not followed by the demon.

These (seven) Bears, placed high up in the sky, are seen at night and go somewhere during the day. These rules of Varuṇa are inviolate. The shining moon follows the Nakṣatra. (But now) the sun concealed all his rays from the dark sky : that is night ; they (the Bears) come in sight. We become now merely bony with bones ; every thing is merely a name and name alone with no lustre or brilliance, no eunuch, or man or woman am I, (there being no light to distinguish), I am immovable and then movable. I worship, I worshipped before, and I shall worship later on, in future."

We are told in the above passage that Śambara pursued the sun who was fully drunk with Soma-draughts and the weapon which sober Śambara used was darkness. In the battle that ensued the sun mounted on his chariot drawn by horses succeeded in cutting off the pitch dark. The volume of praise made by the people fell upon him like milk from the cows or water from clouds and infused enthusiasm in him so as to shine better than other gods who were not chased by the demon. During the darkness the seven Bears and the stars which are not visible during the day became visible, a strange fact going against the law of Varuna. These wars are, as stated in other parts of the Vedas, periodical.

Can there be any doubt that the above passage is a vivid description of a complete solar eclipse ? Nor has the Āraṇyaka left us in the dark as to the date when this eclipse occured or recurred. In the beginning of the work there is a distinct reference to the cycle of sixty years beginning with Prabhava and ending with Akṣaya. In 1, 3 we are told that the cycle of sixty made thirty revolutions and that the northern and southern Ayanas were also sixty each. (Ṣaṣṭiśca triṁśakā valgā śuklakṛṣṇau ca ṣāṣṭikau). Evidently the number of years counted as having passed from the commencement of the Kali era was 1800. Accordingly it seems to be B.C. 1300 or 1299 when the eclipse occurred. According to SWAMIKANNU PILLAI's Tables 4-L of the cycle of recurrence of eclipses there was a nearly complete solar eclipse on 12th October, A.D. 413. Now 1711 years—2 days is a good cycle of recurrence of eclipses according to the same author. Accordingly 1711-413 is equal to 1298, which is counted as 1299 B.C.

The Vedic people had a cycle of sixty years, as already pointed out. This cycle is made up of three cycles of 20 years each. This cycle of 20 years seems to have been devised by the Vedic people as a cycle of the season of eclipses which is different from the cycle of recurrence of eclipses, namely 19 years, or 18 years and 11 days. To find out the season of eclipses in B.C. 1299 or 1298, the following Table is devised by Mr. CHICKANNA SIDDHANTI of Mysore. The same Table can be used to find out the season of eclipses in any B.C. or A.D. year.

No. of single years.	Remaining days.	No. of 20 years' cycle.	Rem. days.
1	18·6310	1	26·0010
2	37·2620	2	52·0020
3	55·8930	3	78·0030
4	74·5240	4	104·0040
5	93·1650	5	130·0050
6	111·7660	6	156·0060
7	130·4170	7	182·0070
8	149·0480	8	208·0080
9	167·6790	9	234·0090

The Kṣepaka quantity for both single years and cycle of 20 years is 10·2445 for A.D. 0 year or B.C. 1.

Note 1. Add the remaining days of any B.C. year to the Kṣepaka and deduct the same from the Kṣepaka in A.D. years.

Note 2. One revolution of combined movement of sun and node (Ravi-Rāhu-antara) is 346-6190 days.

Table 2 showing the daily and yearly motion of Tithi by the same Siddhānti.

No. of days.	Velocity.	No. of years.	Velocity.
1	1·01589577	1	11·05593
2	2·03179154	2	22·11186
3	3·04768731	3	33·16779
4	4·06358308	4	44·22372
5	5·07947885	5	55·27965
6	6·09537462	6	66·33558
7	7·11127039	7	77·39151
8	8·127166193	8	88·44744
9	9·14366193	9	99·50337

Note 3. Kṣepaka of Tithis for A.D. 0 year or B.C. 1 is 5·7013.

Note 4. In Leap-years deduct one day's velocity from the total and in odd years deduct ¼th, ½, and ¾th of a day's velocity in 1, 2, and 3 years respectively.

Note 5. Deduct the total velocity from the Kṣepaka in B.C. years and add the same to the Kṣepaka in A.D. years. The same rules apply to the next Table also.

Table 3 showing the daily and yearly motion of Ravi-Rāhu-antara causing eclipse :—

No. of days.	motion.	No. of years.	motion
1	1·0386026	1	19·34951
2	2·0772052	2	38·69902
3	3·1158078	3	58·04858
4	4·1544104	4	77·39804
5	5·1930130	5	96·74755
6	6·2316156	6	116·09706
7	7·2702192	7	135·44657
8	8·3088208	8	154·79608
9	9·3474238	9	174·14559

Note 6. The Kṣepaka for B.C. 1 or A.D. 0 is 349·3598562.

Note 7. Rules 4 and 5 apply also here.

Now B.C. 1299 is the year of the eclipse under consideration. As a rule we have to deduct one year from all B.C. years. Accordingly 1299-1 is 1298 Dividing 1298 by 20 we have 64 cycles of 20 years and 18 odd years remaining. Now by Table 1 the remaining days in 60 cycles of 20 years are (by shifting the Decimal point by one place to the right.)

		1560·06
4 cycles of 20 years	..	104·01
for 10 years	..	180·63
for 8 years	..	149·04
Total	..	1993·74

Dividing this by 346·61 we have 5 revolutions of 1733·05 days and 260·69 days remaining from Jan. 1 of 1298 B.C. Adding the Kṣepaka of 10·24 we have 270·93 days.

Now according to SWAMIKANNU'S Table 4-L the eclipse in 413 A.D. happened after 207 days from the beginning of the Hindu solar year. The solar year in B.C. 1298 began on March 2. As our counting is from Jan. 1 in all cases, we have to add 61 days to 207 days. The total comes to 268 days. The rule is that the eclipse happens about 3 days back or later in the season marked by the above number of days. This shows how nearly exact is the cycle of 20 years of the season of eclipses.

Now to find the Tithi on the 270th day of 1298 B.C. by Table 2.—

Tithi for 1000 years	11055·93
„ 200 years	2211·18
„ 90 years	995·03
8 years	88·44
Total	14350·58
Deduct for odd days	—·50
	14350·08

Dividing this by 30 and casting out 478 revolutions of 30 Tithis we have 10·08 Tithis remaining, that is the 10th Tithi passed on. Now deduct the same from Kṣepaka 5·7030 or 35·7030, adding one revolution.— 35·7013—10.08 is equal to 25·6213 on Jan. 1 of B.C. 1298.

Now Tithi for the remaining 270 days we have by the same Table 2.

Tithi for 200 days	203·1791
„ „ 70 days	71·1127
„ on Jan. 1	25·6213
Total	299·9131
Deducting nine rounds of 30,	270·
We have	29·9113

this is, the new moon Tithi is current and it is suitable for the solar eclipse. Now Ravi-Rāhu-antara by table 3 : --

for 1000 years	19349·51
„ 200 years	3369·90
„ 90 years	1741.45
„ 8 years	154·79
Total	15115·65

Dividing by 360 cast out 68 revls. The remainder is 275·15.

The Kṣepaka is	349·3598562
Deducting the above from this	275·150
We have	74·2098562
Now for 200 days	207·7205200
70 days	72·702182
Total	354·6305582

when a nearly complete solar eclipse is certain.

Now, concluding I may state that Śambara was an eclipse demon of the type of Rāhu and that Indra's battle with him is a slow clearance of the eclipse. The three forts referred to are three kinds of eclipses, black, gray, and yellow on earth (spring and summer with rains), air (the next four months of wind) and sky (the next four months of the year.)[1]

1. See the writer's *Drapsa : the Vedic Cycle of Eclipses*.

THE AGE OF ŚRĪ ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA

By

K. G. ŚAṄKAR, Calcutta

It would be no exaggeration to say that modern Hinduism is almost entirely the creation of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. But, after a century of Oriental research, we are still without a critical biography of this great philosopher. We are not even in a position to say exactly when he lived and wrote. Orthodox Hindus, on the one hand, maintain that Śrī Śaṅkara lived from 509 to 477 B.C. following the chronology of the *Guruparamparās*. Modern scholars, on the other, swear by the date 788-820 A.C. given in the *guruparamparās* for Abhinava Śaṅkara whom they confound with Ādi Śaṅkara. It would seem as if there were no way of reconciling these conflicting views, or of arriving at the true date of the first Śaṅkarācārya. But, in my humble opinion, we have ample materials in his authentic works to determine this question once for all. Only their chronological value has not been realised so far.

Śrī Śaṅkara is said to have founded 5 *Maṭhs* at Kāñcī, Dvārakā, Badarikā, Śṛṅgeri and Puri. Several *gurus* of these *maṭhs* were named Śaṅkara like their great founder. Some of them were also authors of philosophical and devotional works. We must therefore take care not to confound their works with those of the first Śaṅkara. All agree that the three *bhāṣyas* on the *prasthāna-traya* i.e., the ten *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Brahma-sūtras* are authentic works of Ādi Śaṅkara.

Taking the evidence of the three *Bhāṣyas* alone into consideration, we find at the outset a quotation in the *Sūtra-bhāṣya* (ii. 2. 28) of a half-verse यदन्तर्ज्ञेयरूपं तत् बहिर्वत् अवभासते from Diṅnāga's *Ālambana-Parīkṣā*. As Diṅnāga was a disciple of Vasubandhu (c. 400 A.C.), this quotation enables us, as pointed out by Mr. Vidhuśekhar BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA, to fix the anterior limit of Śrī Śaṅkara at c. 450 A.C.

Some years ago my friend Mr. G. HARIHARA Śāstrī drew my attention to references in the three *Bhāṣyas* to the names of certain kings, which, with others discovered by me, enable us to determine the age of Śrī Śaṅkara finally. In the first place, we can say definitely that, in his time, the king of Ayodhyā was still recognized as the emperor of India, as he says that the king in question is called the lord of Ayodhyā, though in fact he is the lord of the whole world besides यथा समस्तवसुधाधिपतिरपि हि सन् अयोध्याधिपतिरिति व्यपदिश्यते (*Sūtra Bhāṣya* i. 2. 7). This reference points to the later limit of Śaṅkara's date as c. 500 A.C, because, when the power of the Imperial Guptas declined, the king of Ayodhyā was no longer the emperor of India. Thus from the

above two references, Śrī Śaṅkara may be assigned to the latter half of the 5th century A.C.

This conclusion is confirmed by other references in the three *Bhāṣyas.* In one passage, we are told that the entire world was being agitated by the Buddhists, वैनाशिकैः सर्वो लोकः आकुलीक्रियते (*Sūtra-bhāṣya* ii. 2. 27). This was the case in the 5th century A.C, when Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, Śaṅkaravarman and others were popularising Buddhist philosophy.

Then we have three references to a king Pūrṇavarman. One of them (*Sūtra-bhāṣya* ii. 1. 18) refers to his anointment; another (*Chāndogya-Upaniṣad Bhāṣya* iii. 19. 1) refers to his being endowed with all good qualities (सर्वगुणसंपन्न); a third contrasts him with king Rājavarman, and says that, while the service of Pūrṇavarman only gives food and clothing, the service of Rājavarman ensures the benefits of royalty itself, यथा पूर्णवर्मणः सेवा भक्त-परिधानमात्रफला राजवर्मणस्तु सेवा राज्यतुल्यफला इति तद्वत् (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad Bhāṣya* ii, 23. 1). Leaving to the close of this short paper the identity of Rājavarman, we may infer that the generous Pūrṇavarman was a contemporary of Śrī Śaṅkara; and in the latter half of the 5th century A.C. we actually find in Java a king Pūrṇavarman, who makes lavish gifts to Brahmins.

Again, Śaṅkara compares Siṁha with Balavarman (*Sūtra bhāṣya* ii. 4. 1). Assuming that Śaṅkara's references are all to contemporary kings, we find a Pallava Siṁhavarman, king of Kāñcī in Śaka 380 (458 A.C.) संवत्सरे तु द्वाविंशे काञ्चीशसिंहवर्मणः। अशीत्यग्रे शकाब्दानां सिद्धमेतत् शतत्रयम् (*Siṁhasūri* : *Lokavibhāga*) and a Balavarman of Kāmarūpa in the same period was an ancestor of Bhāskaravarman, contemporary of Śrīharṣa and Hiuen-tsang (c. 640 A.C.).

In another passage, Śaṅkara mentions a person being directed first to Balavarman, then to Jayasiṁha, and lastly to Kṛṣṇagupta, गच्छ त्वमितो बलवर्माणं ततो जयसिंहं ततः कृष्णगुप्तं (*Sūtra-bhāsya* iv. 3. 5). If, as stated above, Balavarman was a contemporary king, so must have been Jayasiṁha and Kṛṣṇagupta also, and we recognize in them, without the least difficulty, the founders of the Caḷukya and the later Gupta dynasties, who both lived in the latter half of the 5th century A.C. Nay, more. In the entire history of India, we do not hear of any other king named Kṛṣṇa Gupta. This leaves us only one king yet to be identified, i.e., Rājavarman, who was deemed superior even to Pūrṇavarman.

Light on the identity of this Rājavarman is thrown by Sadāśiva Brahmendra (c. 1600 A.C.), who refers (*Guru-ratnamālikā*, st 27) to a tradition that, with the aid of Rājasena Coḷa, Śrī Śaṅkara built at Kāñcī the temples of Varada and Ekāmranātha (श्रितनिर्मलराजसेनचोलक्षितिपालोद्धृतविप्रदेवशालः वरदस्य तथाम्रनाथकस्याप्युरुवेश्मद्वयकृज्जयाय मे स्यात् ॥). (Of these, the Ekāmranātha is mentioned in such an early work as the *Mattavilāsa* (p. 13) of Pallava Mahendravarman I (c. 600 A.C.). Evidently, the Rājavarman of Śaṅkara's work is identical with Coḷa Rājasena, associated with him by tradition. In the light of this tradition which adds (*Guru-ratnamālikā,* st. 28) that the Kāñci

Kāmākṣī temple was likewise built by Śaṅkara, we can well understand why the service of Rājavarman is said to ensure the benefits of royalty itself; for has he not, though a *yati* himself, been able to build three big temples, with that king's aid, which survive to this day in all their pristine glory? We can likewise understand very well why Śrī Śaṅkara's statue is still found in the same Kāmākṣī temple.

But who was this Rājasena Coḷa, and when did he live? I identify him with the Karikāla Coḷa, who, according to the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates (*South Indian Inscriptions,* vol. iii. p. 395), embanked Kāverī and renovated Kāñcī. Another Coḷa Iḷam-kiḷḷi was also temple-builder at Kāñcī; but he was a Buddhist, and his temple was a Buddhist *caitya* (*Maṇimekhalai,* xxviii. 172-175). He cannot therefore be identified with Rājasena, who built temples to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Devī. This same Karikāla, who embanked Kāverī, is said to have been an ancestor of Śrīkaṇṭha and to have defeated Trilocana Pallava and Śrīkaṇṭha was himself an ancestor of Vijayālaya of c. 850 A.C. (Anbil plates of Sundara Coḷa, c. 950 A.C). That the Karikāla, who embanked Kāverī, was a contemporary of Trilocana Pallava and wrested from him not only Kāñcī but also Reṇāḍu, has been amply proved from Āndhra local records and traditions by Dr. N. V. Ramaṇayya. A distorted form of these traditions is found in the *Kalingattup-paraṇi* (viii. 20), which says that, when Mukari failed to help other feudatory princes in embanking Kāverī, his extra third eye was put out by Karikāla.

> toḻudu mannare karai śey ponniyil,
> toḍara vandiḍā Mukariyaip paḍattu,
> eḻuduk enṟu kaṇḍu idu mikaik kaṇ enṟu,
> iṅgaḻikkave aṅgaḻindadum

The reference to the third eye unmistakably indicates the identity of Mukari with Trilocana. Now Trilocana is said in Eastern Caḷukya grants (*Epigraphia Indica,* vol. vi. p. 348) to have killed in battle Vijayāditya I, the father of Jayasiṁha Viṣṇuvardhana, and was thus a contemporary of Karikāla and other kings, including Jayasiṁha, mentioned by Śaṅkara. We may therefore perhaps infer that Rājavarman, Rājasena and Karikāla were identical, especially as Karikāla seems to be only a nickname.

Going further we may perhaps accept the cyclic years Nandana and Raktākṣī, given for Śaṅkara's birth and *brahmī-bhāva,* given in the various *Śaṅkaravijayas.* If so, the first Śaṅkara may have lived from 452 to 484 A.C. Accepting this date for Śrī Śaṅkara, there is no difficulty in admitting the traditional identity of Śaṅkara's guru Govinda with Candraśarman, the reputed father of Harṣa Vikramāditya, king of Ujjain, who is usually and reasonably identified with Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscription (532 A.C.)

ŚRĪ VYĀSARĀYA SVĀMIN* (1478-1539)

By

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI ŚARMA,
(Annamali University)

VYĀSATĪRTHA, VYĀSARĀYA or VYĀSARĀJA SVĀMIN as he is variously called, has already been mentioned as the disciple of Brahmaṇya Tīrtha. Chronologically after Jayatīrtha, he is the one outstanding personality among Vaiṣṇava Pontiffs of the school of Madhvācārya. The Vaiṣṇavism of Madhva had patronage in the courts of Kaliṅga, of Tulunāḍ and in the Anegondi of Pre-Vidyāraṇya days, but the influence attained at the Court of Vijayanagar by Vyāsarāya eclipsed all earlier and later records and stands by itself, unique in history. It is thus briefly indicated in Vādirāja's *Tīrthaprabandha* :

Rājadhānī jayati sā Gajagahvarasaṁjñitā |
Yatra bhānti gajā Mādhvarāddhāntadharaṇīdharāḥ || (III. 17).

Till the publication of the *Vyāsayogicarita*, the world had no idea of the part played by Vyāsarāya in the history of the Vijayanagar Empire.[1] Some of the older generation of scholars of South Indian history were inclined to laugh at what they imagined to be an exaggerated estimate of him given by Mādhva tradition and dismiss it as a pious fabrication. But it is no longer possible to refuse to be convinced. The contemporary biography of Vyāsarāya is before them and its account is in the main corroborated by such literary and epigraphic evidences as we are yet lucky to possess. Thanks to these, Vyāsarāya is, and need no longer be, a shadowy figure depending for his greatness upon the pious credulity and propaganda of his followers.

LIFE

The most complete and reliable account of the life and career of Vyāsarāya is to be found in the biographical account of Somanātha.[2] The songs of Purandara Dāsa, a few inscriptions and tradition yield important particulars. We shall now sketch the life of Vyāsarāya, in the light of these sources.

Vyāsarāya was born in or about the year 1460 A.D. in the village of Bannūr,[3] about 6 miles north of Sosale, in the Mysore Dt. His father Ballaṇṇa

*Contributed on the occasion of the Quatercentenary of Vyāsarāya, this year 8th March 1939.

1. It is a pity that no proper account of the life and achievements of Vyāsarāya has appeared in the *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.*

2. It is not therefore very clear what is meant by the statement in the *Madras Uni. His. Series. XI*, that "no authentic information is available re. the early life and career of Vyasa." (P. 322). Nothing has so far been discovered belying the facts given by Somanātha.

3. See *Vyāsayogicarita* Bangalore, 1926. P. 13 (Text).

Sumati of the Kaśyapagotra, was the youngest of the six sons of Rāmācārya. Being childless for long, he married a second wife Akkamma. By the blessings of Brahmaṇya Tīrtha of Cannapatna, he had three children born to him--a girl, and two boys. The youngest was Yatirāja, the future Vyāsarāya. At the age of five, Yatirāja was taught the alphabet and at seven he had his upanayana. For four years afterwards he was at his Gurukula whence he went home at eleven. There he underwent a complete course of studies in Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Alaṃkāra and Grammar, which must have covered at least a period of four years.

Somewhere about this time, Brahmaṇyatīrtha sent word claiming from Ballaṇṇa Sumati, the fulfilment of a promise made by him and his wife before the birth of their children that they would make over their second son to him. After some hesitation on the part of the parents, the promise was duly fulfilled. Ballaṇṇa Sumati himself took his son to Cannapatṇa and presented him to Brahmaṇya and returned home.

Brahmaṇya Tīrtha was very much impressed with the superior attainments of his ward and was secretly meditating to ordain him a monk so as to enlist his genius to the cause of Vaiṣṇava Dharma. Somanātha says that the young Yatirāja having divined the intentions of Brahmaṇya and unwilling to commit himself, made a bolt for his freedom one day. He walked a long way off and feeling tired, lay down to rest under a tree. While asleep, he had a beatific vision in his dream in which God Viṣṇu appeared before him and instructed him in his duty. And the boy returned to the hermitage of Brahmaṇya. The incident is of importance even as throwing some faint light on the probable age of Yatirāja at the time. He could not have been more than sixteen—to judge from the use of the phrase : " Śaiśava-cāpalena " in the text of the *Vyāsayogicarita*. Not long after this incident, Brahmaṇya Tīrtha ordained his ward a monk, and gave him the name of Vyāsatīrtha.

Vyāsatīrtha seems to have spent some time after his ordination in the company of his Guru. Some time after the great famine of 1475-76, Brahmaṇya Tīrtha died. We may therefore assume that Vyāsatīrtha came to the Pīṭha in or about the year 1478 A.D. Assuming that he was about eighteen years old at the time of the demise of his Guru, we may easily fix the date of Vyāsatīrtha's birth in or about 1460 A.D.[1]

It is obvious that Vyāsatīrtha had no time to study anything of the Madhva-Śāstra under Brahmaṇya. He was obliged soon after his assumption of the Pīṭha, to go to Kāñcī where he is said to have stayed for many years studying the six systems of Philosophy under the most eminent Pandits there. It was probably here that Vyāsatīrtha made his first-hand acquaintance with the systems of Śaṁkara and Rāmānuja—an acquaintance which stood him in such good stead in writing his great works : the *Nym.* and the *Candrikā.* After the completion of his studies at Kāñcī, Vyāsatīrtha went over to

1. S. Srikantha SASTRI (Development of Sanskrit under Vijayanagar P. 312, *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol*) gives the dates of Vyāsarāya's birth and ordination as 1447 and 1455, which are too early.

the seat of Śrīpādarāya at Muḷbāgal.[1] It was then a great centre of learning; and there he spent many years in study and meditation. The studies had reference evidently to the Dvaita Vedānta as is clear not only from the fact that Vyāsatīrtha had already mastered the six systems at Kāñcī, but from his own express acknowledgment to the effect, at the end of his gloss on the *Upādhikhaṇḍana-ṭīkā*.[2]

Vyāsatīrtha is believed to have read under Śrīpādarāja for nearly 12 years.[3] This seems to be slightly exaggerated in view of the fact that he was sent to the Court of Sāluva Narasimha at Candragiri, by Śrīpādarāya,[4] just about the time of the usurpation of Vijayanagar by the second dynasty,[5] which, according to competent historians, happened about 1485-86. We have therefore to cut short Vyāsatīrtha's stay and studies at Muḷbāgal to five years, which is reasonable.

The latter part of Chapter IV of the *Vyāsayogicarita* gives a brilliant account of the arrival of Vyāsarāya at the court of Sāluva Narasiṁha at Candragiri, and his grand reception there. Here he spent many years, honoured and worshipped by the King "as Dattātreya was by Kārtavīrya" (P. 40). Here he met and vanquished in intellectual tournaments many leading scholars of his day and conducted debates on such standard treatises on Logic as the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*. There is reason to believe that it was during this period that Vyāstīrtha was entrusted with the worship of God Śrīnivāsa, on the hill of Tirupati.[6] Tradition says that he continued to worship at Tirupati for 12 years (1486-98). His South Indian tour must have been undertaken during this period when he was in the habit of quitting Tirupati for short intervals, entrusting the worship to some disciples.[7]

It appears from Somanātha's account that Vyāsatīrtha did not quit

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1. The facts that (1) Vyāsatīrtha is nowhere represented (in the biography of Somanātha) to have gone to Kāñcī at the bidding of Brahmaṇya (2) or visited him on his return from that city, clearly indicate that Brahmaṇya's demise must have taken place a few years earlier than his disciple's departure to Kāñci.

2. लक्ष्मीनारायणाख्यान् द्रुतिकुलतिलकादधीतमध्वशास्त्रामृतेन व्यासयतिना विरचिता मन्दारमञ्जरी समाप्ता ॥ (colophon)

3. Such is the view expressed by the late Vidyāratnākara Svāmi of the Vyāsarāya Mutt, quoted in the Introd. to the *Vyāsayogicarita*, P. LXXIII.

4. Not by Brahmaṇyatīrtha, as we find stated on P. 321-22 of the *Madras Uni. His. Series*, No. XI. See also f.n. 1 above.

5. This seems to be indicated by the curious fact, that Vyāsatīrtha goes straight to Candragiri tho' Śrīpādrāya merely advises to go to the "King's court." The terms in which Vyāsatīrtha commends Sāluva Narsimha when he first meets him (P. 49-50 text) also show that the latter's victorious campaign thro' S. India had come to a close by then.

6 Certain special honours shown to the Mutt of Vyāsarāya at Tirupati, such as the right to the Svāmi to go round the Prākāras seated in his palanquin and *personally* worship the Deity in the *sanctum*, the presence of a Vyāsarāya Mutt on the Hill with an inscription on its walls as well as allusions in certain songs of Vyāsarāya can be adduced as proofs of his having been entrusted with worship.

7. See VENKOBA RAU'S notes to *Vy. carita*, p. 18.

Candragiri for a while after 1498. He evidently stuck to Sāluva Immaḍi Narasiṁha, the son and successor of Sāluva Narasiṁha till Narasa became the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagar soon after the settlement which he concluded with Tammarāya in 1498, (See Prodattur 386 of 1904) one of the terms of which was perhaps the establishment of Vyāsarāya as the Spiritual Adviser and Guardian Angel of the kingdom.[1] However that may be, Vyāsatīrtha left for Vijayanagar in or about 1493 A.D. "at the pressing and persistent invitation of Narasa's Ministers." (P. 54 lines 1-2, Text) and made it his permanent residence for practically the rest of his life. His entry into Vijayanagar and installation as the Guardian Saint of the Kingdom are described fitfully in the V Chapter of Somanātha's biography. This place of honour given to Vyāsatīrtha was not confirmed without a challenge. Learned men from various parts of India came to challenge him to a public disputation with them. Led by Basava-bhaṭṭa of Kalinga, they pinned their "challenges" (birudapatrikas—text) to the palace-pillars. The challenge was promptly accepted and Vyāsatīrtha met the opposing team of scholars and vanquished it completely after a protracted debate lasting for thirty days. (P. 61 text).

When Narasa was succeeded by Vīra-Narasimha, the position of Vyāsarāya remained the same at the court. According to VENKOBA RAO, again (p. lxvii) NUNIZ makes a direct reference to VYĀSARĀYA ; for the following passage can refer to none but him—"The King of Bisnāga every day hears the preaching of a learned Brahmin who never married nor ever touched a woman." Somanātha appears to say that it was during the reign of Vīranarasimha that Vyāsarāya started composing his great works : the *Candrikā, Tarkatāṇḍava* and *Nyāyāmṛta*.[2]

The accession of Kṛṣṇadevarāya in 1509 opened up a new chapter in the glory of Vyāsarāya,—a chapter for more brilliant than any that had gone before it. The Rāya had the greatest regard and respect for Vyāsatīrtha whom he regarded as nothing less than his "Kuladevatā." With thrilling emotion does Somanātha write :

यावन्तो विषया हृता भुजबलं यावत्सपत्ना जिताः
यावन्तश्च, वदान्यता करसरोजाताश्रया यावती ।

1. Such is at any rate the interpretation put by Mr. Venkobarau on the words of NUNIZ that "after this (settlement) was done, he (narasanaque) told the King (Tammarāya) that he desired to go to Bisnaga to do certain things that would tend to the benefit of the kingdom and the King pleased at that told him.—So it should be" (Introd. xvii-xviii). He also thinks that simultaneously with Narasa's campaign between 1499-1500, Vyāsarāya also started his reform of installing the 732 Hanumān idols in different parts of the kingdom, beginning with the Yantroddhāra Hanumān at Hampi (Introd. xiv, xviii) Cf. also a song of Vijaya Dāsa q. *Annals B. O. R. I.*, Vol. xviii, pt. 2, 197 ; P. 323, Madras Uni. His. Ser. XI

2. This is the order in which Somanātha has named the three great works of Vyāsarāya (P. 64-65). But there is indisputable evidence to show that the *Nyāyāmṛta* was written *before* the *Candrikā* (See pp. 955, 984 of *Candrikā*, Bby. 1913) and the *Tarkatāṇḍava* before the *Candrikā* (See P. 68 b of *Candrikā*).

यावत्यो धनसम्पदो गुणगणो यावांश्च यावद्यशः
तावत्कर्तुमियेष पूजनमसौ श्रीव्यासभिक्षोर्नृपः ॥ (P. 71, text).

Vyāsarāya had already obtained by 1500 the honour cf a green flag on a camel as a mark of respect from the Sultan of Bijāpur (P. xv introd).[1] "In 1511 A.D. he obtained from the king the village of Pulambākkam in the paḍaivīḍu-rājyam, for conducting the Āvaṇi festival in his own name, of God Varadarāja at Kāñci and also the King's sanction for presenting a Śeṣavāhana of gold which had to be used as a vehicle for the God on the fourth day of all festivals." (No. 370 of 1919, Epigr. Rep. 1912-20, Madras).

In an inscription on the southern wall of the maṇṭapa in front of the Viṭṭhalasvami temple at Hampi, which records a grant to the temple in 1513 A.D., by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, Vyāsarāya is referred to as *the Guru* without any perfix whatever :

विनियोग नानावर्गद नैवेद्य सह, गुरुगळु व्यासरायरिगे पाळु ॥
(*S. I. I.*, *IV*, No. 48 of 1889).

Another inscription in 1514 recording a grant to the Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple at Hampi remarks *inter alia* that after installing the image of Kṛṣṇa which he brought from Udayagiri, at Vijayanagar, the Rāya appointed Rāmaṇṇā cārya and Muḷbāgal Timmaṇṇācārya as Arcakas. The names are undoubtedly those of Mādhva Brahmins. Vyāsatīrtha himself in one of his Kannaḍa songs, sang the advent of Bālakṛṣṇa from Udayagiri (See *Vyāsarāyara Kirtanegaḷu*, Uḍipi., No. 60).

Subsequent to the Rāya's return from Koṇḍavīḍu, there was another grant to Vyāsarāya in 1516.

PAES'S curious report of the Rāya's being washed by a Brahmin "whom he held sacred" and who was "a great favourite of his"—which Sewell (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 249-50, f. n. 3) finds it difficult to believe, may yet be true if, as is probable, it has reference to VYĀSARĀYA, who was certainly a favourite of the Rāya and was held sacred by him. At any rate, we know of no other Brahmin of the time who could answer to the description of Paes and Nuniz. As for the washing-ceremony, it is, tho' unknown to every other Brahmanical order, yet in perfect accord with the precepts of Śrī Madhvācārya in his *Tantrasāra* (ii, 10-11) :

* * * * * कुंभोदके सुधीः ॥ ९ ॥
पूर्वोक्तविधिनाभ्यर्च्य प्रतिमां **शिष्यमेव वा ।**
स्नापयेत् पूर्वमर्चायां जपोऽनूनः सहस्रतः ॥ १० ॥
मूलमन्त्रस्य चाङ्गानां न्यासः स्नानादनन्तरम् ।
प्रतिमायां सन्निधिकृत्; **शिष्ये माहात्म्यकृद्भवेत् ॥**
(तन्त्रसार)

1. It may be remarked in passing that the honour of the green flag and a drum on the back of a camel, is kept up to this day in the Maṭha of Vyāsarāya at Sosale by the successors of Vyāsarāya. The *Sāluvābhyudayam* says that Narasimha took the honour of the green umbrella in one of his campaigns against the Sultans. A camel corps furnished by one of his feudatories, is also mentioned in the same context.

This would make it clear that *Madhva teaches that such ceremonial bathing of a disciple by the teacher, conduces to the glory and spiritual well-being of the former.* ' The practice would thus appear to be distinctively Mādhva; and none but a follower of Madhva would have adopted it. We have sufficient evidence to show that Kṛṣṇadevarāya looked upon VYĀSARĀYA as his Guru *par excellence* (Vide the terms in which Vyāsarāya is referred to in the inscription at the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple at Hampi, *S. I. I.*, IV, no. 48 of 1889 quoted already: गुरुगळु व्यासरायिगे पालु); that he was a great favourite of the King ...." (as will be clear from Somanātha's account). Judging then, from all circumstances of the case, there is every reason to believe that it was to Vyāsarāya that PAES was alluding, in his interesting report. There would thus be no difficulty in assuming that it was to *Vyāsarāya* that NUNIZ was alluding in his report about the King of Bisnāga listening every day to the preaching of a learned Brahmin "who never married nor ever (had) touched a woman." The description points unmistakeably to a Sannyāsin (of the Ekadaṇḍi Order) and so far again as available records show, Vyāsarāya is the only person wielding such influence over the King. NUNIZ's remarks are fully supported by Somanātha. (p. 40, 53; 59; 66; 67-8; 71.)

Towards the close of the V Chapter, Somanātha describes a significant episode in the life of Vyāsarāya. Soon after his return to the capital from the Kalinga war (1516) and his treaty with the Gajapati, Kṛṣṇarāya one day rushed to the presence of Vyāsarāya with a work on Advaita Vedānta,[1] sent for criticism by the Kaliṅga ruler. He further says that the Kaliṅga king Vidyādhara Pātra had sent the work to Kṛṣṇarāya through his commander-in-chief, at the instigation of certain self-conceited Pandits of his court with a haughty challenge that it may be shown to Vyāsatīrtha inviting him to refute it if he could.[2] The challenge of the Kaliṅga King was in effect a challenge to the imperial dignity of the Rāya himself and to his dualistic leanings. And if in trying to defend these, the Rāya ran to Vyāsarāya, it only shows how indispensable he was to him.

Unfortunately Somanātha has not given the name of the work which was thus despatched to Vyāsarāya. Among the works of Vyāsarāya however, the only one which answers to the requirements of the case, is the short polemical tract called *Bhedojjīvana*. The original sent down to him from the Kaliṅga

1. This is clear from the nature of the adjectives employed :--

स्वामिन्, प्रतिभटवादिविजयेषु भगवद्वचोभिः पलायितमिव, स्वदेशे गूढ चरन्त, सच्छास्त्रं सुत्रामजलस्य, प्राणभूतं मायामतस्य, तत्त्वं व्यामोहकशब्दाभिधेयस्य, भूतिमनृतस्य, दुष्टपक्षं बन्दिग्राहमिव गृहीत्वा * * * ।

2. **विद्याधरपात्रनामा कलिङ्गाधिपतिः** कैश्चिदहंयुभिः विपश्चिद्भिः प्रचलितोत्साहः, शुकनाडिकाकारायां पुस्तिकायामाबद्ध्य, भगवते व्यासयोगिने प्रदर्शनीयोऽयं दुस्तरयुक्तिविस्तारितो महान्ग्रन्थ इति स्वसेनापतिकरे मह्यं प्रैषिषत्। तदवश्यं तमेतं कतिपयैरेवाहोभिः दुर्लङ्घ्याभिर्वचोयुक्तिभिर्भगवान् शरद्वलाहकमिव झंझाभिः शकलीकर्तुमर्हति' इति पुस्तिकां सन्निधौ सन्दर्शयामास ॥ (P, 70).

Pandits, might therefore be presumed to be one to which the *Bhedojjīvana* was a reply. From certain remarks let fall by the celebrated logician Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, at the end of his commentary on the *Advaitamakaranda* of Laksmīdhara (of which a Ms. is noticed by Rajendralal Mitra in his Catalogue) it appears that he lent his willing cooperation to the Gajapati ruler KŪRMA VIDYĀDHARA in devising ways and means for humiliating Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar ;—

कर्णाटेश्वरकृष्णरायनृपतेर्गर्वाग्निनिर्वापके
अत्र न्यस्तभरोऽभवद्गजपतिः श्रीरुद्रभूमीपतिः ।
तस्य ब्रह्मविचारचारमनसः श्रीकूर्मविद्याधर-
स्यानन्दो मकरन्दशुद्धिविधिना सान्द्रो मयायं कृतः ॥

It was evidently some other work of this Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, if not his commentary on the *Advaitamakaranda*, that formed the subject of challenge referred to by Somanāth. It is worthy of note that the *name of Kṛṣṇarāya's rival mentioned by Somanātha answers more or less closely to the one referred to by Vāsudeva in the above verse.* Here then is interesting light thrown on the *historical authenticity of the incidents recorded by Somanātha.* Apparently the Kalinga King wanted to outshine Kṛṣṇarāya not only in military prowess but in literary glory also.

Before starting on his Raichur expedition in 1520, the Rāya performed a "ratnābhiṣeka" for Vyāsarāya (Pp. 71-75 of the text). In 1526, Vyāsarāya received the village of Beṭṭakoṇḍa from the King. This was renamed Vyāsasamudra after the big lake which he caused to be dug there.[1] Earlier, there are two other epigraphs : one dated 1523 (Svabhānu) recording the grant of the village of Brahmaṇyatīrthapura to Vyāsarāya. He however gave it away to Brahmins. The grant of 1524 is recorded on a stone in front of the Vyāsarāya Maṭha at Tirupati showing probably that Vyāsatīrtha was then at Tirupati praying to God Śrīnivāsa[2] during the dreaded period of Kuhuyoga. It was presumably after the great Kuhuyoga of 1524 that Vyāsasamudra

1. It is referred to by Purandara Dāsa in one of his songs :

देशाधिपगे बन्द क्लेशङ्गळ कळदु
सिंहासनवनेरि मेरेदि जगवरिय ।
व्यासाब्धियन्नु कट्टिसि देशदोळगेल्ल

* * * *

Song No. 20, *Mādhvabhajanamañjari*, K. BHAṆḌAPPA, Dharwar 1932, P. 16.

2. See Song of Vyasārāya to Śrinīvāsa, (No. 53, Udipi).

3. It was during one of these Kuhuyogas that tradition says Vyāsarāya himself ascended the throne of Vijayanagar to save his disciple Kṛṣṇarāya from peril. The appellation "Vyāsarāja" and the custom of "Diveṭṭigesalām" which is to this day observed at the Sosale Mutt when the Svāmi seated on his throne is hailed at a daily darbar, every evening, as the Lord seated on the "Vijayanagara-Karṇāṭaka Simhāsaṇa", serve to keep in memory the forgotten past. Purandaradāsa also has referred to the occupation of the Vijayanagar throne temporarily by Vyāsarāya (Vide song quoted above).

was granted to Vyāsarāya.[3] It is clear from Somanātha's account that Vyāsarāya moved away for some time to his retreat at Beṭṭakoṇḍa presumably during the period of "temporary estrangement" from the Rāya, when Aḷiyā Rāmarāya was at the helm of affairs.[1] The Rāya, seems to have gone on a pilgrimage and returned by 1527 to the capital where he made another grant to Vyāsarāya (Shimoga, 85), the terms of which imply that Vyāsarāya was completely restored to his former position in the estimation of the King :

निगमागमनिर्णीतनिर्जराधीशमन्त्रिणे ।
नृपेंद्रमुकुटीरत्ननीराजितनिजाङ्घ्रये ॥
निरहङ्कारचित्ताय नीतिमार्गोपदेशिने ।
शेषाय नरवेषाय शिक्षितान्तरवैरिणे ॥
पुराणपुरुषध्यानपुष्यत्पुष्कलमूर्तये ।
मध्वाचार्यमताम्भोजमार्ताण्डायिततेजसे ॥
ब्रह्मण्यतीर्थशिष्याय ब्रह्मनिर्मलमूर्तये ।
व्यासतीर्थयतीन्द्राय विद्वदिन्दीवरेन्दवे ॥

* * * *

Somanātha goes on to say that after the death of Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1530), Acyutarāya continued to honour Vyāsarāya for some years. It was in Acyuta's reign that the image of Yogavarada Narasimha was set up by Vyāsarāya in the courtyard of the Viṭṭaleśvara temple at Hampi, in 1532; Seven years later, Vyāsarāya himself passed away at Vijayanagar on the fourth day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, in Viḷambi corresponding to Saturday, the 8th March 1539[2] A.D. His mortal remains lie entombed at Nava-bṛndāvana, an island on the Tungabhadrā about half a mile east of Ānegondi.

II

Vyāsatīrtha was almost the second Founder of the system of Madhva. In him the secular and metaphysical prestige of the religion and philosophy of Madhva reached its highest point of recognition. The strength which he infused into it through his labours and personality has contributed in no small measure to its being even today a living faith in S. India. The learned Appayya Dīkṣita is reported to have observed that the great Vyāsarāya 'saved the melon of Mādhvasim from bursting, by securing it with three bands' in the form of his three great works the *Nyāyāmṛta, Tarkatāṇḍava* and

1. The period between 1524-26 was a gloomy one. Taken ill, the Rāya was probably forced to abdicate in favour of his son Tirmaladevarāya in or about 1524 (*Ep. Car.* Bglore, Mayadi 82) and after his death in 1525, to take his brother Acyuta as regent (*Vy. Carita*, p. 76). The once popular view that the Rāya died in 1524 cannot be upheld as it is definitely set at nought by many inscriptions of subsequent dates.

2. The date is given by Purandaradāsa, in one of his songs which is quoted by KITTEL in his *Nāgavarmana-Chandassu* :—

विळम्बिवत्सरदल्लि विजयनगरदल्लि फाल्गुनबहुळ चवुतियल्लि स्थिरवारदल्लि । The author of *Madras Uni. His. Series. No.* XI, feels rather vaguely, that Vyāsarāya "appears to have breathed his last, *a little later than* 1532.'! (Italics mine.)

Candrikā. These showed to the world that the followers of Madhva can more than hold their own against the best intellects of India in the field of Logic and Metaphysics, Nyāya, Mīmāmsā, Vedānta etc. There is a tradition that when the North Indian Logician Pakṣadhara Miśra visited South India, he had spoken very highly of Vyāsarāya.

यदधीतं तदधीतं यदनधीतं तदप्यधीतम् ।
पक्षधरविपक्षो नावेक्षि विना नवीनन्यासेन ॥

With all his accomplishments, Vyāsarāya was not a mere doctrinaire. He was essentially large-hearted. He was as at home on the naked peaks of the intellect and intuition as in the depths of religion, love and devotion to God. His religion of service, sympathy and effort (Vide *Kīrtane* No. 55 of Uḍipi) was a direct corollary of his Philosophy. By its side, the homage of Madhusūdana Sarasvati : वंशीविभूषितकरात्...कृष्णात्परं किमपि तत्त्वमहं न जाने । (at the end of his disquisition on the Nirākārabrahmavāda) turns but to be little more than hollow sentimentalism in one whose highest Brahman is characterless.

III.

If the Kings of Vijayanagar were models of religious toleration, we have not a little to thank Vyāsarāya for it. While his influence lasted, he could easily have feathered his own nest and seen to the religious and political domination of the men of his own creed. But he despised such ambitions. He was scrupulously just and fair in his dealings and treatment of others. He treated Basavabhaṭṭa whom he had vanquished in debate with exemplary kindness and regard.[1] He could easily have created a monopoly of worship for the men of his faith at Tirupati during his sojourn there ; but he did not. He was no inciter of hatred against Śiva though personally a staunch Vaiṣṇava. He had himself composed a stotra in praise of Śiva[2] and to this day a special service is held in the Vyāsarāja Mutt at Sosale, on the night of the Mahāśivarātri when the Śiva-liṅga said to have been presented to Vyāsarāya by Basavabhaṭṭa of Kalinga, is worshipped. He allowed his preachings to take their gentle course of persuasion and disliked proselytisation for the sake of numbers. He did not misuse his influence with the Kings to make his faith the state-religion. This attitude deserves to be contrasted with that of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas reported in the *Prapannāmṛta* :

श्रीवैष्णवे विरूपाक्षे प्रशासति महीमिमाम् ।
आसन् श्रीवैष्णवाः सर्वे यथा राजा तथा प्रजाः ।
विरूपाक्षाभिधा मुद्रा * * *

But in Vyāsarāya's days, Virūpākṣa was the tutelary deity of the kingdom side by side with Viṭṭhala and the seal of Virūpākṣa instituted by Vidyāraṇya was still in use. It is thus a very *sweeping and unfair* estimate of Vyāsatīrtha that we have in the *Madras University Historical Series, No XI,* that

1. See *Vy., carita* p. 61.
2. *Laghu-śiva-stuti,* Belgaum, 1881.
3. See Venkobarau, Introd. to *Vy. carita,* CXXV.

"in spite of the efforts of Vyāsatīrtha, Mādhvaism did not evoke popular enthusiasm. The *only contribution* which it made to religion was to give an *exaggerated importance to the worship of Hanumān.* A few Brahmins and fewer nobles accepted the teachings Madhva". (P. 323) (Italics mine). The message of Vyāsatīrtha was addressed to the thoughtful among men and the really sincere among the people. His mission had two sides to it, a religious and a philosophical one. And it is sufficient to say that in both these fields the impression he had made was both profound and lasting, and destined to lead to far-reaching consequences. We shall have something to say of his labours in the domain of Philosophy, anon. It may be pointed out here, that Vyāsatīrtha was a Psalmist in Kannaḍa and has composed many beautiful songs in his mother-tongue : Kannaḍa, a fact of which only flying mention has been made by the author of the *Madras Uni. His. Series No. XI.* More than even for his own compositions, his name would have to be invested with special significance as that of the person who gave India a Purandara Dāsa and a Kanaka Dāsa, both disciples of Vyāsarāya. Those who know anything about the history of the Dāsa-Kūṭa and how much Kannada literature is indebted to these great Poets of Karnāṭaka, will have no difficulty in realising the vastness of the service rendered by Vyāsarāya to the cause of "popular religion"; for no one can deny that the Dāsas "evoked popular enthusiasm" for the philosophy of Madhvācārya. Their influence on the ethical uplift of the masses is too well-known to need elaboration here.

Nay, the influence of Vyāsarāya was felt far beyond the limits of Karnāṭaka— in the heart of distant Bengal. It is now fairly well-known though no reference is made to it in the *Madras Uni. His. Series No. XI* that the Bhakti Movement of Caitanya who flourished wholly within the lifetime of Vyāsarāya, owed a good deal of its inspiration to the philosophy of Madhva and its exposition by Vyāsarāya. A section of the followers of Caitanya go so far as to claim that Caitanya himself comes of a line of ascetics from Madhva through Rājendra Tīrtha and Vyāsarāya. In his *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā* Caitanya's biographer Kavikarṇapūra speaks reverently of the three great masterpieces of Vyāsarāya as the "*Viṣṇu-Samhitā.*"

व्यासतीर्थस्तस्य शिष्यो यश्चक्रे विष्णुसंहिताम् ॥

If properly viewed, the influence of Vyāsarāya would be seen to have brought about a glorious religious renaissance in the XVI century, simultaneously in the north and in the south of India[1]. Of his place in the domain of Indian Philosophy we shall say something in the next section. Historical scholarship must indeed be thoroughly blind and bankrupt if it could discover in Vyāsatīrtha's life and mission nothing more enduring than "an exaggerated importance to the worship of Hanumān", and the erection presumably of a few temples to that god !

1. Even the Devotionalism of the Mahārāṣṭra Saints : Tukārām and his predecessors would appear to be inspired by the Bhakti Movement of the Dāsas of Karnāṭak, headed by Śrīpādarāya, Vyāsarāya, Purandara Dāsa, Kanaka Dāsa etc.

THE WORKS OF VYĀSARĀYA.

Vyāsarāya wrote eight works in all. His major and most important works are three[1] : the *Nyāyāmṛta, Tarkatāṇḍava* and *Candrikā,* collectively called "Vyasa-traya". Among his minor works, the first place is to be given to the *Bhedojjīvana.*[2] Next come his learned and highly abstruse commentaries on the *Khaṇḍana-traya* and the *Tattvaviveka.* A *Grantha-mālikā-stotra* giving the list of the 37 works of Madhva, is also ascribed to him in the Catalogue of the T. P. L. and published in the S. M. (P. 382-3). The oft-quoted verse श्रीमन्मध्वमते हरिः परतरः * * * । embodying the principal tenets of Madhva, is also traditionally ascribed to him. It is quoted by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, in his *Prameyaratnāvali* as an ancient verse तदुक्तं प्राचा– and he has also given a parallel verse of his own श्रीमध्वः प्राह विष्णुं * * * । *All* the above-mentioned works of Vyāsarāya have been printed.[3]

(1) THE NYĀYĀMṚTA (p)

I

In this, his *magnum opus,* Vyāsarāya undertakes a complete vindication of the philosophical power and prestige of the Dualistic metaphysics of Ānandatīrtha, together with a discussion of its concomitant problems. The work is divided into four chapters or Paricchedas. The first discusses the central idea of Monism—the unreality of the world and goes into the various proofs (pramāṇa) upon which it is sought to be based. Such doctrines of the Advaita as have a direct bearing upon this thesis of the falsity of the world, like the doctrines of degrees of reality, Adhyāsa, (kartṛtvādhyāsa, dehātmaikyabhrama). Anirvacanīyatā etc., are fully thrashed out. The various definitions of "Mithyātva" (the concept of unreality) propounded by Advaitins are analysed and refuted. The four types of "hetus" in the familiar Viśvamithyātvānumāna, are then criticised. The sanctity of Pratyakṣa and its inviolability through Anumāna and Āgama, are upheld. The "Apacchedanaya" of the Pūrvamīmamsā and its repercussions on the controversy of Pratyakṣa vs. Āgama are then made clear. Certain representative texts of Monism are reinterpreted. The doctrines of "Dṛṣṭi-Sṛṣṭi," "Ekajīvājñānavāda", "Bhāvarūpājñāna" (Citsukkha) and the question of its *locus,* the divergent views of the *Bhāmatī* and the *Vivaraṇa* on this point, are elaborately dealt with.

1. The "*Sudhā*" is not one of the works of Vyāsatīrtha as we have it in the *Madras Uni. His. Series,* No. XI. (P. 424). Nor did he "comment upon several *Upaniṣads* such as the *Chāndogya* and the *Māṇḍūkya* etc. (ibid)." The *Sudhā* is, as we have seen, a work of Jayatīrtha and the comm. on the *Upaniṣads* were written by the earlier Vyāsatīrtha who was a direct pupil of Jayatīrtha. The author of the *Nym.* generally describes himself as "Vyāsayati" disciple of either Brahmaṇya Tīrtha or of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Tīrtha.
2. Wrongly attributed to Vādiraja in RICE'S *Cat.*
3. The Editor of the *T. P. L. Cat.* is mistaken in his statement that the *Bhedojjīvana* and the gloss on the *Upādhikh.* are yet to be printed.

The II Pariccheda opens with refutation of the concept of "Akhaṇḍārtha" and its application to Upanisadic texts (lakṣaṇavākyas). Advaitic doctrines like those of Nirguṇatva, Nirākāratva, Svaprakāśatva and Avācyatva of the Brahman are repudiated and their theistic opposites upheld. Difference is shown to be real, cognisable and characterisable with the help of Viśeṣas. Madhva's scheme of five-fold difference (Pañcabheda) is shown to have the sanction and support of the three Pramāṇas. The ideas of the material and efficient causality of Brahman are shown to be devoid of any real sense on the Advaitic view. The doctrine and concept of identity (aikya) are closely examined and shown to be unintelligible, impossible. The chapter winds up with a discourse on the atomicity of the soul (Dvaita view).

The III chapter is devoted to a critical examination of the part played by the various means of realisation—Śravaṇa, Manana, religious instruction, self-discipline etc., in expediting God-realisation.

In the fourth and last Pariccheda is elucidated the doctrine of Mukti as understood by Madhva. Other views of Mokṣa are criticised with a good grasp of details. The Advaitic view of release as being identical with the cessation of Avidyā is refuted. The prospect of a characterless bliss is shown to be utterly devoid of all motive-force for human effort towards salvation. The doctrine of Jīvanmukti is next examined. As against the Viśiṣṭadvaitin, the author maintains that gradation of bliss *does* obtain in Mokṣa and must do so in view of certain logical necessities and scriptural admissions.

II.

The *Nyāyāmṛta* (*Nym.*) is thus a *Novem Organum* of Dvaita polemics. Vyāsarāya was not merely the founder of the new Polemics of his school but the fountain-head of the entire controversial literature of the Dvaita-Advaita schools subsequent to him. His work has been the starting point for a series of brilliant controversial classics whose composition and study have been the chief occupations of the intellectuals of the three succeeding centuries.[1] "It was Vyāsatīrtha who *for the first time* took special pains to collect together from the vast range of Advaitic literature all the crucial points for discussion and arrange them on a novel yet thoroughly scientific and systematic plan."[2] He has exhibited in his work more than a hundred *points d'appui* and has discussed them with a minuteness of observation and mastery over details rarely to be found even among some of the "Titanic Thinkers of the past."[3] A glance at the table of contents of the *Nym.* would give a sufficient idea of the stupendousness of the task attempted and achieved by Vyāsatīrtha.

1. The challenge thrown out by Vyāsarāya was taken up and answered by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in his *Advaitasiddhi.* The views of Madhusūdana were refuted by Rāmācārya in his *Taraṅgiṇi* (beg. 17th cen). This was answered by Brahmānanda which again was refuted by Vanamāli Miśra in his *Saurabha* (end of 17th cen).

2. Mm. Anantakṛṣṇa SASTRI : Introd. to *Advaitasiddhi* etc., Calcutta Oriental Series, No. IX, p. 36 (1934).

3. Ibid.

He has kept himself well within the bounds of the main problems of the contending systems. He is unparalleled in the careful handling of texts, acuteness of scholarship and wide range of study of the works of various systems of thought. He has freely laid under contribution the principles of interpretation and dialectics enunciated and developed in the standard treatises of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṁsā and grammatical schools. The following are some of the important authors and works of other systems cited in the *Nym* :

Nyāyakusumāñjali	*Padamañjari*
Bauddha-dhikkāra	Sureśvara's *Bṛhadvārtika*
Bharatī Tīrtha	
Iṣṭa-siddhi	*Siddhitraya*
Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya	Śaṁkara-bhāṣya (B. S.)
Mādhyamika Kārikās.	*Ṭupṭīkā* (Kumārila)
Mahābhāṣya	*Citsukhī*
Nyāsa	*Upadeśa-sāhasrī*
Nayaviveka	*Vedāntakaumudī*
Ānandabodha	*Vivaraṇa*

Vyāsarāya's work is not a mere summary of the teaching of his predecessors. It is nothing short of what it claims to be—a *Novem Organum* in the history of Dvaita thought :

विक्षिप्तसंग्रहात्क्वापि क्वाप्युक्तस्योपपादनात् ।
अनुक्तकथनात्क्वापि सफलोऽयं श्रमो मम ॥

In the true spirit of a philosopher, the author goes on through a long and ardous process of thought-dissection to show that the thesis of Monism cannot be proved and that there is no philosophical justification for rejecting the reality of the world that is established by all known means of proof and knowledge. In doing all this, he has nowhere exceeded the bounds of strict philosophical calm, dignity and equity. Nowhere has he indulged in digressions, nowhere have his criticisms degenerated to cavil and calmny. In this respect he has shown himself to be far superior to his critic Madhusūdana Sarasvatī who has many a time in his work, fallen a prey to the temptations of the invective rhetoric. His work acted as a leaven upon all analytic philosophy in the Vedānta and was directly responsible for the birth of the Neo-Advaita and for this no small credit is due to Vyāsatīrtha.

(2) THE TARKA-TĀṆḌAVA. (p)

I.

While ever ready to make free use of the categories and thought-measuring devices of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika in its fight with Monism, the school of Madhvācārya has its own difference with the former.[1] These have been

1. Such as for instance on the question of (1) the personality of God and its constitution, the nature and number of divine attributes, (2) the eternity of sound ; (3) Prāmāṇya whether "svataḥ or "Parataḥ" ; the eternity and authorlessness

made clear by Madhva himself in his *AV* and other works and by Jayatīrtha in his *NS*. In his own inimitable way, Vyāsatīrtha has undertaken a thorough and up-to-date examination of the *points d'appui* between his school and that of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas. This examination is embodied in the *Tarka-Tāṇḍava* which criticises the views expressed in such standard treatises of the Nyāya school as the *Kusumāñjali* of Udayana, the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa, and in the commentaries of Pakṣadhara, Pragalbha, Yajñadatta etc.

Tradition has it that the contemporary scholars of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika were first loudest in their laudation of Vyāsatīrtha for his famous attack on Advaita in his *Nym.*, but that they grew restive and silent all of a sudden when he published his *Tarkatāṇḍava* which was directed against themselves. They are said to have voiced their indignation and disapprobation by an oft-quoted line.

न्यायामृतार्जिता कीर्तिः ताण्डवेन विनाशिता ।

Only parts of the work were originally published from Kumbakonam in 1905. The authorities of the Government O. L. Mysore have latterly undertaken to publish the whole of it together with the illuminating commentary of Rāghavendra Svāmin. Two volumes of the publication have already appeared[1] and the rest are soon expected.

II.

The work[2] is divided into three Paricchedas corresponding to the three Pramāṇas recognised in the system of Madhva. The author correlates his comments and criticisms to the views formulated in the *VTN* and its ṭīkā (by Jayatīrtha), the *NS* and the *Pramāṇapaddhati*. The first chapter is divided into six sections entitled i. Vedaprāmāṇya-Vāda ; ii. Vedāpauruṣeyatva-Vāda ; iii. Īśvara-Vāda ; iv. Varṇa-nityatva-Vāda ; v. Samavāya-Vāda ; and vi. Nirvikalpaka-Vāda. The first section discusses the various definitions of the self-validity of knowledge, Vyāsatīrtha formulating as many as three Siddhānta-definitions of it and criticising those propounded by Gaṅgeśa and his commentator Pakṣadhara Miśra. (P. 30 Mysore edn). After advancing syllogistic proofs in support of the Svatastva of Prāmāṇya, admitted by the Dvaitin, the author goes on to refute all the recorded objections to it offering in his turn fresh objections to and criticisms of the doctrine of the extraneous validity (Paratastva) of knowledge upheld by such writers as Gaṅgeśa, Pakṣadhara, Yajñapati Upādhyāya (pp. 157, 166 and 215) and Pragalbhācārya (P. 166) alias Śubhaṅkara. The extraneous character of invalid knowledge is also dealt with. The second section reviews several objections to the

(apauruṣeyatva) of the Vedas etc. The views of the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara Mīmāṃsakas also are examined and refuted.

1. Between 1932-35.

2. B. VENKOBARAU, in his introd. *Vy. carita* observes that the opening verse in the *Tarkatāṇḍava* addressed to God Aprameya shows that it was presumably composed at Malūr in the Channapatna Dt.

eternity and authorlessness of the Vedas and criticises the doctrine of divine authorship (Īśvarakṛtatva) of the Vedas held by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas. The most important section in Chapter I is the Īśvara-vāda, wherein the establishment of God, on the basis of pure reasoning is hotly disputed and shown to be impossible. In this connection the author has cited all the *eight points of Udayana* (raised in Ch. V of the *Kusumāñjali*) and has refuted them together with their explanations attempted by Vardhamāna Upādhyāya.[1] The next section seeks to establish the eternality of sound on the basis of Perception, Inference and Revelation and refutes the doctrine of its non-eternity held by the Naiyāyikas, and after that the concept of Samavāya. The last deals with Indeterminate perception which is similarly dealt with. It would be easy to see the reason for this unwillingness of the Dvaitin to recognise Indeterminate perception which would spell danger to his radical realism.

The II Pariccheda establishes Śakti which is one of the ten categories recognised in the Dvaita system, after considering the various objections brought forward by the Logicians against its recognition as a distinct Padārtha. The other subjects dealt with are (I) Jāti and (II) the conception of Vidhi (injunction) and what constitutes its essence.

(3) THE TĀTPARYA-CANDRIKĀ (p)[2]

The *Tātparya-Candrikā*,[3] more familiarly known by its shorter title of "*Candrikā*"[4] is a controversial commentary on Jayatīrtha's *Tattvaprakāśikā* and thus belongs to the Sūtra-Prasthāna of the Dvaita Vedānta. It is later than both the *Nym.*[5] and the *Tarkatāṇḍava*[6] as can be seen from references to them in it. Though going by the modest title of a commentary, it is in reality an original contribution of the author, to the subject of the Philosophy of the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa through a comparative study and criticism of the bhāṣyas of Śaṁkara, Bhāskara, Rāmanuja, and Yādavaprakāsa and of the super-commentaries *Pañcapādikā* and *Vivaraṇa*,[7] *Bhāmatī*, *Kalpataru*, the *Śrutaprakāśa* and the *Adhikaraṇasārāvaḷī* of Vedānta Deśika. The author endeavours to show that perfect harmony of spirit and letter

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1. A quotation from his *Tattvabodha* on the *Nyāyasūtras* occurs on p. 279, Vol. 2 of the *TT.* (*Tarkatāṇḍava*).

2. Published by T. R. KṚṢṆĀCĀRYA of Kumbakonam, with two comm. (Nirnayasagar Press, Bby) Another edition (incomplete) was issued in four parts from Mysore (Govt. O.S.).

3. Not *Tātparyasangraha* as on P. 238 of *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.*

4. These are not two different works as fancied by V. RANGĀCARYA (*Insc. Madras Presidency Vol.* I, p. 308) nor is it known as "*Madhva-tātparya-candrikā*" as stated on p. 424 of the *Madras Uni. His. Series* No. XI.

5. See *Candrikā* ii, 3, adh. 14, P. 955 (Kumb) P. 18b line 4 ; 50 b and ii. 3, adh. 19 p. 984.

6. P. 68 line 1 (com. of Rāghavendra on *Candrikā* (Kumb).

7. यत्तु पञ्चपादीविवरणयोरुक्तम्— .(P. 98b, 4). Quotations are given not only from the bhāṣyas of Śaṁkara Rāmānuja etc., but also from the C. of *Bhāmatī*. *Kalpataru* (P. 894) and 928 (Kumb) etc.

prevails only between the interpretations of Madhva and the sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa, and that the other bhāṣyas and their respective commentaries are not as well attuned, and in some cases, not at all, to the Sūtras (verse 10). There are thus two sides to the work—a constructive and a destructive one.[1] The first is to be seen in the attempt at reinforcing the interpretations of Madhva by additional arguments and harmonising the views of Madhva and those of his commentators following different lines of interpretation occasionally. As a notable instance of this may be mentioned the harmonisation brought about between the views of Trivikrama Paṇḍita, (*TD*) the *Sannyāyaratnāvalī* and the *TP.* of Jayatīrtha (P. 77-78). Vyāsatīrtha also undertakes to make clear what is obscure in the sūtras, the bhāṣya of Madhva and in the commentaries thereon :

सूत्रे भाष्येऽनुभाष्ये च सन्यायविवृतौ तथा ।
टीकासु च यदस्पष्टं तच्च स्पष्टीकरिष्यते ॥

He quotes where necessary from the *AV.*, *VTN.* and *Nyāyavivaraṇa* (p. 50b).

As for the destructive side of the work, the author pursues with relentless energy the interpretations of rival schools, *under each and every adhikaraṇa and sūtra* and picks out numerous flaws at every step :

प्रतिसूत्रं प्रकाश्येते घटनाघटने मया ।
स्वीयान्यपक्षयोः सम्यग्विदांकुर्वन्तु सूरयः ॥

The *Candrikā* is thus a very remarkable commentary of the Dvaita school, in which the dialectic machinery is applied with equal success and brilliance to the purely interpretative literature on the Sūtras. A beginning in this direction had already been made by Madhva himself in his *AV* and by Jayatīrtha in his *NS* and Vyāsatīrtha has merely carried this to perfection even as desired by Jayatīrtha himself- सूत्राक्षराणां आर्जवानार्जवादिचिन्ता शिष्यैरेव क्रियताम् । (*NS*, ii, 2, adh. 6, P. 880 b).

The *Candrikā* terminates however with the II Adhyāya of the Sūtras.[2] It was completed (upto the end of the IV chapter) by Raghunātha Tirtha, the tenth Pontifical successor of Vyāsarāya.

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1. The following is a fitting tribute to the *Candrikā*

"आमूलाग्रनिबद्धतर्कजटिलं शब्दैकजीवातुकं
मीमांसानुनयं च शङ्करवचोहुंकारभङ्गप्रदम् ।
शास्त्रं तन्त्रचतुष्टयात्मकमिदं निस्वप्रतन्त्रान्तराः
व्याख्यास्यन्ति कथं पठन्ति च कथं किंवा कलौ दुष्करम् ॥"

(Anonymous)

2. There is no reason to suppose that Vyāsatīrtha was prevented by circumstances beyond his control from finishing his *Candrikā*. The stoppage at the end of the II Adhy. was evidently deliberate as the III and IV Adhyāyas (sādhana and phala) do not contain much controversial stuff and what little they have, had already been dealt with in the III and IV Paricchedas of the *Nym.*

The total number of granthas in the *Candrikā* is 3450. It is the earliest commentary on the *Tattvaprakāśikā* that has come down to us. But it is certainly not the earliest ever written. Vyāsarāya himself, on one occasion, quotes from an earlier commentary : केचित्तु—'प्रासौ भुक् शुद्धिचिन्तयो' रिति वचनात्, चिन्तार्थकज्ञानार्थोऽपि भूधातुरस्तीति, 'वो' युष्माकं 'भाः' साकारत्वेनाभितं ज्ञानमिति वाभिप्रेत्य, "भाव" इत्युक्तिरित्याहुः ॥ (ii, 2, adh, 9, P. 919 b).

ii.

It is an open secret that the rules of Pūrvamīmāmsā and its "adhikaraṇa-nyāyas" do not play any active part in the Sūtra-interpretations worked out by Madhva, and some of his immediate disciples,[1] as they do in the case of Śaṁkara and Rāmañuja and their commentators. We have seen that Madhva relies instead upon the principles of interpretation and interpretational exegesis contained in the *Brahmatarka* and such other works. The conclusion was apt to be drawn from this apparent indifference of Madhva to the science of Pūrvamīmāmsā, that its rules were more or less hostile to him and that therefore he had cleverly evaded them.[2] Whatever the truth of the matter, Vyāsarāya saw that the time had come for a spirited defence of the interpretations of Madhva in the light of the rules and principles of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā. With this end in view he has endeavoured to demonstrate that Madhva's interpretations have the warm support of the general and particular principles of the Mīmāṁsakas and that they are not opposed to any principle or principles of theirs, that we know of. This was indeed a bold bid and somewhat of an uphill task but Vyāsarāya has well-nigh accomplished his purpose and proved his case by citing a number of these nyāyas into the body of his exposition[3] and correlating them to the views of Madhva. A similar procedure is adopted with reference to the rules and principle of the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra of Pāṇini and his followers. These two features are common to the *Nym.* also. Most probably the critics of Madhva had already begun to make this deficiency of the Dvaitins their chief plank of attack, and Vyāsarāya was in duty bound to set his house in order. *The new move made by him consequently represents a new phase of development in the Dvaita-vedānta and its literature.* From Vyāsatīrtha onwards, the appeal to Pūrva Mīmāṁsā becomes more or less regular and normal, in Dvaita literature. Both in his *Nym.* and the *Candrikā,* Vyāsarāya has exhibited

1. For stray references to Pūrva Mīmāṁsā rules however, see Padmanabha Tirtha's *Sannyayāratnāvali* (P. 6 and *AV.*, loc. cit).

2. Jayatīrtha too had not felt the necessity of justifying Madhva's interpretations in the light of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā. A latter commentator Satyanātha, has tried to cut the gordian knot by boldly declaring that Madhva has *not* followed the Mīmāṁsā rules : (*Abhinavagadā*, p. 10) See under SATYANĀTHA.

3. Cf. सम्मतं चैतन्मीमांसकानामपि p. 192b ; 1925b ; 640-4, 657 ;722b ; 787 ; 790. अश्वप्रतिग्रहेष्टि॰ P. 188, 463.

his remarkable command over the Mīmāṁsā Śāstra and its literature,[1] and shown to the world of scholars that the system of Madhva has nothing to fear from the Mīmāṁsā Śāstra, but can always look it in the face and claim its support too, in many instances.

The following are some of the authors and works of other systems of thought, cited in the course of the *Candrikā* :

Bhāskara	
Kaiyaṭa	*Ṛgvedanukramaṇī* (Kātyāyana)
Kalpataru (Advaita)	Śaṁkara's *bhāṣya on B. S.*
Mahābhāṣya	*Śrībhāṣya*
	Tantrasāra (Mīmāṁsā)
Nyāsa	*Vivaraṇa*
Nibandhana	Yādavaprakāśa
Padamañjarī	*Ślokavārtika* (Kumārila)
Pañcapādikā	*Tattvapradīpa* : Trivikrama
Bhāmatī	Paṇḍitācārya (Dvaita).

iii.

Like the *Nym.* the *Candrikā* too has given rise to some kind of controversial literature based upon it.[2] But the critics of Vyāsarāya in this case were neither so powerful as in the other instance nor commanded such all-India importance and reputation. Nor were their writings of such vital importance and interest to the future of Vedānta philosophy. The history of this controversy and the works under this head will however be dealt with later on.

THE MANDĀRA-MAÑJARIS.

" Mandāramañjari " is the *general title* of Vyāsarāya's glosses on *four* out of the ten Prakaraṇas of Madhva : the three *Khaṇḍanas* and the *Tattvaviveka*. It is not the name or distinctive title of any *one* of them as is presumed on P. 424 of the *Studies in the III Dynasty of Vijayanagar* (*Madras Uni. His Series, No. XI*).

1. Quotations appear from the *Tantraratna*, the *Śāstradīpikā*, the *Śabara-bhāṣya*, Kumārila's *Vārtikas* etc. (P. 51). These references to Mīmāṁsā and Vyākaraṇa literatures, have given ample opportunities to Rāghavendra and Keśava, commentators on the *Candrikā*, to quote profusely from the standard works of these systems and elucidate the purport of the original.

2. Raghunātha Śāstri Parvaté replied to the criticisms relating to the Advaita Vedānta and its commentaries, in his *Śaṁkarapādabhūṣaṇ* (alias *Candrikākhaṇdanam*) and the *Tattva-mārtāṇda* of Saṭha-marṣaṇakula Śrīnivāsa (Madras X, 4894) is an adverse criticism of the *Candrikā* and an answer to the objections raised in the latter to the interpretations of the *Śrībhāṣya*. Both these critics have been answered by subsequent writers from the Dvaita school, the former by Cochi Rangappācāryā : (*Candrikābhūṣaṇam*) and the latter by Vijayīndra Tīrtha.

(4) MĀYĀVĀDA-KHAṆḌANA-MANDĀRAMAÑJARĪ. (p)

This gloss runs to over 500 granthas and is known also by the name of *Bhāvaprakāśikā.*[1] It is a tough and keenly argumentative gloss replete with logical niceties, and therefore beyond the average student of Sanskrit. The remark applies equally to the other *Mandāramañjaris.* The author himself says at the outset that he proposes to concentrate his attention only upon the obscure passages of the Ṭīkā[2] and digress only where it is absolutely necessary, from the subject-matter :

स्पष्टार्थो य इह ग्रन्थः स न व्याक्रियते मया ॥
ग्रन्थगौरवभीरुत्वान्नचोद्ग्रन्थं बहूच्यते ॥

(5) THE UPĀDHIKHAṆḌANA-MANDĀRAMAÑJARĪ. (p)

This gloss runs to over 1500 granthas and is as terse as the above. The colophon to this commentary gives the information that the author read the classics of the Dvaitavedānta under Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Tīrtha alias Śrīpādarāya.[3]

(6) THE PRAPAÑCAMITHYĀTVĀNUMĀNAKHAṆḌANA-MANDĀRAMAÑJARĪ. (p)

This commentary (granthas 660) also goes by the name of "*Bhāvaprakāśikā*".[4] Vyāsarāya's glosses on the *Khaṇḍanatraya* are the earliest ones now available to us. Barring Brahmaṇya Tīrtha and Śrīpādaraya, he is also the earliest commentator known to fame, on any of the works of Jayatīrtha. But an interesting reference to and quotation from an earlier commentary on the *Prapañcamithyātvānumānakhaṇḍana-Ṭīkā,* occurs on P. 8, lines 12-15 of Vyāsarāya's commentary (Bombay, 1896). Nothing is however known of this commentator. He has doubtless been eclipsed by Vyāsarāya who stands out as the earliest commentator of any importance, on the ṭīkās of Jayatīrtha.

He goes far beyond the original reinforcing Jayatīrtha's statement :

सत्त्वात्प्रतीतिरसत्त्वाच्च बाध इति सदसदात्मकत्वेनाप्युपपत्तेः। (P. 8 line 8) with elaborate allusions to certain technicalities of the Bhāṭṭa-Mīmāmsakas (P. 18 lines 19-23). On P. 10, lines 16-24, the glossator repudiates a certain attempted defence of the Advaitic position as against the criticism of Madhva. (7) The *Tattvaviveka-Mandāramānjarī* has also been printed from Bombay.

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1. By which name it is quoted in Rāghavendra Svāmin's gloss on the *Candrikā,* (p. 71, Mysore edn).

2. It must be remembered that the "Mandāramañjaris" are glosses on the corresponding ṭīkās of Jayatīrtha on the originals and are not thus directly connected with the Prakaraṇas in question.

3. An acknowledgment to this effect is made also in introd. verse No. 6, of the *Nym* : लक्ष्मीनारायणमुनीन्वन्दे विद्यागुरून्मम ।

2. व्यक्तमेतन्मिथ्यात्वानुमानखण्डनभावप्रकाशिकायाम् । Rāghavendra gloss on *TP*. Bby. p. 24 and also colophon of Vyāsatīrtha's gloss.

(8) THE BHEDOJJĪVANA. (p)

The references to the *Nym*[1] and *Mandāramañjarī*[2] in the *Bhedojjīvana*, show that the latter was undoubtedly the last of the works of Vyāsarāya. It is a short Prakaraṇa in 275 granthas and as the name itself suggests, is intended to resuscitate "Bheda" (Difference) that has been stifled by the Monist. Its central thesis is that the reality of Difference is established by all the three Pramāṇas, Sense-perception, Reason and Revelation. "Within a short compass, he has covered the ground of the entire Monistic literature pushed into contemporary prominence and argued an unexpurgated case for the Realism of Madhva".[3] Most of the arguments here, are to be met with in more finished form in the *Nym.*, which thus renders the *Bhedojjīvana* superfluous.

There is no connection whatever between the *Bhedojjīvana* of Vyāsarāya, and the *Bhedadhikkāra* of Nṛsimhāśrama. Neither of them is a criticism of the other, though their titles may at first sight tend to suggest a relation.[4] The author of the *Bhedadhikkāra* is decidedly *later than* Vyāsarāya, as can be seen from the criticisms which he has direced against certain passages in the *Nyāyāmṛta*, in his *Advaita-dīpikā*.[5] There is also independent evidence to show that one of Nṛsimhāśrama's works : the *Tattva-viveka* was written in 1558 A.D.[5] He must therefore have been a younger contemporary of Vyāsarāya and his literary activities might have begun some years after the demise of the latter.

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1. P. 37, line 7 ; and P. 30, line 6, (Bby. 1901).
2. P. 28, line 7.
3. Nagaraja SARMA. *Reign of Realism in I. Phil.*, Madras, 1931, P. 15.
4. The *Bhedadhikkāra* is merely a general defence of the Advaitic position. It does not quote from the *Bhedojjīvana*. The scheme of topics dealt with in the two, is entirely different. (3) The *Bhedadhikkāra* refutes "Arthāpatti" as a means of establishing Difference to be real and criticises the Jīvavibhutva-pakṣa, both of which are alien to the *Bhedojjīvana*.
5. *Advaita-dīpikā* of Narasimha Śarma in two vols. Medical Hall Press, Benares 1919. Cf. *Pariccheda* ii, p. 3-4 (Tatra Navīnaḥ |) with *Nym.* ii, 17P. ; P. 567-8 (Bombay edn.) P. 5 with *Nym.* 571-2 ; and 573 ; P. 9 with p. 574 b ; P. 9 with p. 587 ; P. 15 P. 589 and P. 16-18, with P. 589)
6. अब्दे वेदवियद्रसेन्दुगुणिते पौषासितश्रीदिने ।
रक्षोनामनि पूरुषोत्तमपुरे ग्रन्थं मुदाचीकरत् ॥

NIDĀNACINTĀMAṆI, A COMMENTARY ON THE AṢṬĀṄGAHṚDAYA OF VĀGBHAṬA

By

HAR DUTT SHARMA, Delhi

In his introduction to the edition of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, 1938), Mr. P. K. GODE informs us that there are ten commentaries on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa. Amongst these commentaries he mentions one by Ṭoḍaramalla (p. 7). In a footnote he records—"Ṭoḍaramalla was the Hindu financier of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605)—See *Imp. Gaze.* (1928—New Edition), Vol. II, p. 399. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part II, p. 7—*Nidānasthāna* and Comm. by Ṭoḍaramalla Peters. 3, 39." Mr. GODE's remark is based upon the information furnished by AUFRECHT in his *Cata. Catalogorum*, whose authority is PETERSON's Report. I had an occasion to examine this Ms. in the Bhaṇḍārkar Institute of Poona. My investigation has yielded some important results which I incorporate in this paper.

There is no other Ms. of this work so far discovered. Hence, before giving my opinion and stating the results, I give here a detailed description.

अष्टाङ्गहृदयसंहिता निदानचिन्तामणिटीकासहिता. No. 1037 of 1886-92.

Size.—12 in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Extent.—39 leaves; 8 lines to a page; 38 letters to a line. Description.—Country paper; old Devanāgarī Characters with *pṛṣṭhamātrās*; handwriting good. Two lines encasing a thick red line on either border. Marks of punctuation, colophons of chapters and headings of chapters tinged with red pigment. All the four margins of each side of leaf are covered with the commentary. Paper is very old, worn out, musty and broken at places. It begins with folio No. 117 with the concluding portion of the first *adhyāya* of the *Nidānasthāna*. It ends with the 16th chapter, finishing the *Nidānasthāna* on folio No. 156. Fol. 134 is missing. Following are the colophons of the Ṭīkā.

fol. 117*b*—

इ......**प्रभु**सुतवैद्य**कान्हप्रभु**विरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** निदानस्थाने प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

fol. 122 *a*—

इति श्रीवैद्य**बईदेवप्रभु**सुतवैद्य**कान्हप्रभु**विरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** द्वितीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

No colophon of 3rd *adhyāya*.

fol. 125 *b*—

इति श्रीवैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यकान्हप्रभुविरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** निदान-स्थाने चतुर्थोऽध्यायः समाप्तः।

fol. 128. *b*—

इति श्री वैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यकान्हप्रभुविरचितायां **निदान...मणिटीकायां** पंचमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः॥

No colophon of the 6th and 7th *adhyāyas*.

fol. 135 *b*—

इति श्रीवैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यकान्हप्रभुविरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** निदानस्थाने अष्टमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः॥

fol. 137 *b*—

इति श्रीवैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यकान्हप्रभुविरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** निदान-स्थाने नवमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः॥

fol. 139 *b*—

इति श्रीवैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यकान्हप्रभुविरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** निदान-स्थाने दशमोऽध्यायः॥

fol. 143 *a*—

इति श्रीवैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यकान्हप्रभुविरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** निदान-स्थाने एकादशोध्यायः समाप्तः॥

fol. 145 *a*—

इति श्रीवैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यकान्हप्रभुविरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** निदान-स्थाने द्वादशमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः॥

fol. 148 *b*—

इति श्रीवैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यकान्हप्रभुविरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** ......ने त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः॥

fol. 151 *a*—

इति श्रीवैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यकान्हप्रभुविरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** निदान-थाने चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः समाप्तः॥

fol. 154 *a*—

इति श्रीवैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यकान्हप्रभुविरचितायां **निदानचिंतामणिटीकायां** निदान-स्थाने पंचदशमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः॥

fol. 156 *b*—

इति श्रीमहावैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यतोडरमल्लवैद्यकान्हप्रभुः अमुं ग्रन्थं शुद्धं कृतवान्।
[illegible]ख्या सुषुवे सुतं यं बेईददेवश्च भिषक् श्रुतज्ञः।
टीकां मनोज्ञां लघुवाग्भटस्य कान्हप्रभुः सोऽकृत कीर्तिहेतोः॥

Begins.—fol. 117 *a*.

Text

....णः ।

पित्तं कट्वम्लतीक्ष्णोष्णपटुक्रोधविदाहिभिः ॥ 16th verse.

शरन्मध्याह्नरात्र्यर्द्धविदाहसमयेषु च ॥ etc. 17 *a*.

Comm. (begins on the latter portion of the 11th verse, viz हेत्वादिकात्स्न्यावयवैर्बलाबलविशेषणम्— of the 18th *adhyāya*).

कात्स्न्यावयवाः तैर्हेत्वादिकात्स्न्यावयवैः सकलैकदेशविभागैरादिशेत् । कात्स्न्यं सामग्र्यं । अवयवाः अल्पत्वानि । कात्स्न्यात् व्याधेर्बलवत्त्वम् । तेषां अवयवत्वव्यपदेशेनाऽबलत्वम् ॥ कालं विवृणोति । नक्तमित्यादि (This is the *pratīka* of the first half of the 12th verse—नक्तं दिनर्तु-भुक्तांशैर्व्याधिकालो यथामलम् ।) नक्तं च दिनं च ऋतुश्च भुक्तं च नक्तंदिनर्तुभुक्तानि तेषामंशा अवयवाः तैर्व्याधिकालो यथामलं यथादोषमादेष्टव्यः । व्याधिहेतुः कालो व्याधिकालः । यथामलं दोषाऽनतिक्रमेण । etc.

nds.—fol. 156 *b*.

Text

विद्रधिप्लीहहृद्रोगगुल्माग्निसदनादयः ।

भवंत्युपद्रवास्तेषामावृतानामुपेक्षणात् ॥ (58th verse).

इति वातशोणितनिदाने षोडशमोऽध्यायः । १६ ॥ इति महावैद्यश्री (श्री transferred back so as to stand after इति) पतिश्रीसिंहगुप्तस्य सूनोर्वाग्भटस्य कृतावष्टांगहृदयसंहितायां निदानस्थानं तृतीयं समाप्तं संपूर्णमेतत् । अस्मिन् निदानस्थाने षोडश अध्याया निगदिताः

Comm. (from the latter half of the 53rd verse.

प्राणादीनां च पंचानां मिश्रमावरणं मिथः ॥ २३ ॥)

प्राणादीनां पंचानां मिथः परस्परमावरणं भवति । प्राणादीनां मिश्राणां पित्तादिभिर्द्वादशभिः पित्तकफरक्तमांसमेदोऽस्थिमज्जाशुक्राऽन्नमूत्रविट्सर्वधातुसंज्ञैर्द्वादशभिर्द्वित्र्यादिभिर्मिश्रैतरावरणं स्यात् । तैः प्राणा....सम्मिश्रितैर्द्वित्र्यादिमिश्रकारात् पित्तादीनामेकैकशः वा द्वित्र्यादिमिश्राणामावरणं स्यात् । तारतम्यपरिकल्पनया पित्तादिभिर्मिश्रैस्तथा तद्वत् प्राणादिभिर्मिश्राणामावरणं स्यात् । तथा प्राणादिभिर्मिश्रैः पित्तादीन......श्राणां आवरणं अनेकधा असंख्यातं भवति ॥ **अथ टिप्पणं** ॥ प्राणादयो वायवः । दिशानया च विभजेत् । एवं अन्येषां वायूनां अन्योन्यं आवरणानि ज्ञेयानि । मिथः परस्परं विभजेत् । पित्तादिभिः सर्वधात्वंतैर्द्वादशभि...(र्मि) श्राणां पंचानां वायूनामावरणं तथा परस्परं मिश्रितैर्वायुभिर्मिश्रैः पित्तादिभिर्द्वादशभिः सह याः मिश्रणाः ताभिर्मिश्रणाभिरानंत्यं । तथा प्राणेन मिश्र उदानः समानो मिश्रतरः । व्यानो मिश्रतमः । तथा प्राणादि पित्तादिना आवृतेन मिश्राया (दा ?) वृतस्य समानादेः । तद्वत् या मिश्रणा आवृतिमिश्रणा । उपशयादिति अस्मिन् सेविते अस्योपशांतिर्दृश्यते तदायमेव दोष उत्कट इति ॥

स्थिताः उपेक्षिताः संतः उपद्रवा रोगाः ॥

इति श्रीमहावैद्यबेंइदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यतोडरमल्लवैद्यकान्हप्रभुः अमुं ग्रंथं **शुद्धं कृतवान्** ॥

सामांबिकाख्या सुषुवे सुतं यं **बेंइददेवश्च** भिषक् श्रुतज्ञः ।

टीकां मनोज्ञां लघुवाग्भटस्य **कान्हप्रभुः** सोऽकृत कीर्तिहेतोः ॥

It will thus be evident that the Ms. is incomplete. The codex begins with fol. 117. The first 116 folios are lost. The first 15 verses of the text of the *Nidānasthāna* and the commentary on the first 10 verses are missing. Most probably they were contained in fol. 116. But what did the first 115 folios of the codex contain? Did they contain only the text of the other *sthānas* or also the commentary on the margins as here? If there was a commentary also, then what was its name and who was its author? It could not possibly have been named as the *Nidānacintāmaṇi*, as this name can fit in only with the *Nidānasthāna.* All these questions, unfortunately, will remain now unanswered, as the remaining portion of the codex is lost.

From the description given above it will be seen that 3rd, 6th and 7th chapters have no colophons. The colophons on the remaining chapters reveal that the author of the commentary was Kānhaprabhu, son of Beīṁ Devaprabhu and Sāmāmbikā (or Ambikā, if we break the Sandhi as— सा मा = माम्, अंबिकाख्या). In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to identify Kānhaprabhu or his father. But the last colophon raises some points. In इतिश्रीमहावैद्यबेईदेवप्रभुसुतवैद्यतोडरमल्लवैद्यकान्हप्रभुः अमुं ग्रंथं शुद्धं कृतवान — we find the name of Ṭoḍaramalla and the phrase अमुं ग्रंथं शुद्धं कृतवान. Now, in all other colophons Kānhaprabhu calls himself the author of *Nidānacintāmaṇi*, but here suddenly he announces that he corrected this work. Is he the author of the commentary or is he only its editor? From the careful perusal of this commentary I have been able to find out a very close resemblance between it and the *Sarvāṅgasundarī* of Aruṇadatta. Not only the division of paragraphs by means of *Pratīkas* is the same in both, but in the following instances they almost agree verbatim : -

fol. 120 *a*— तंत्रांतरं—

संतनो मारुतप्रायः पित्तप्रायस्तृतीयकः ।
अन्येद्युश्च कफप्रायः संनि (नि) पा [ता] च्चतुर्थकः ॥

In *Sarvāṅgasundarī* (Vol. I, p. 688. I have used Dr. A. M. KUNTE's edition of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* with Aruṇadatta's commentary, in 2 Vols.) we find—

अत एव तंत्रान्तर एवं जगाद ।
संततो मारुतात्प्रायः पित्तात्प्रायस्तृतीयकः ।
अन्येद्युश्च कफात्प्रायः सन्निपाताच्चतुर्थकः ।
सन्निपातकृतत्वात्तु दुश्चिकित्स्यश्चतुर्थकः । इति ।

fol. 122 *a*—

तथा च ग्रंथः—

कफः पित्तं मलः खेषु प्रस्वेदो नखरोम च ।
स्नेहोऽक्षित्वग्विशामोजो धातूनां क्रमशो मलाः ॥

Sarvāṅgasundarī gives this very quotation with तथा चोक्तम् ।

fol. 153 *b*—

एवंविधलक्षणो यो व्याधिविशेषस्तमूरुस्तंभमित्याहुस्तंत्रकृत इति शेषः ॥ .अपरे आचार्याः आढ्यवातमिति तमाहुः । आमशब्दो नपुंसकः ।

Sarvāṅgasundarī—एवंलक्षणो यो व्याधिविशेषस्तमूरुस्कंभमाहुस्तंत्रकृत इति शेषः । अपरे आचार्या आढ्यवातमिति तमाहुः । आमशब्दस्य नपुंसकत्वं लोकाश्रयत्वाल्लिंगस्येति बोध्यम् । p. 836.

Apparently it would be suggested that the *Nidānacintāmaṇi* is only a revised edition of *Sarvāṅgasundarī* brought out by Kānhaprabhu. But this suggestion is also not correct. For, in the first instance, Kānhaprabhu is brief and to the point, whereas Aruṇadatta is very prolific. Secondly, Kānhaprabhu quotes several authorities which are not to be found in the *Sarvāṅgasundarī*. So, we cannot say more than this definitely that either Aruṇadatta or Kānhaprabhu has seen the other's commentary. So, अमु ग्रंथं शुद्धं कृतवान refers only to Kānhaprabhu's correcting the text of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*. Kānhaprabhu is the author of the *Nidānacintāmaṇi*.

Another fact brought to light by the last quotation is the name Ṭodaramalla. Ṭodaramalla or Toḍarmalla or Ṭoḍarendra, the famous minister of Akbar, is accredited with the authorship of a vast work named *Ṭoḍarānanda*. The contents of this work are given in the *Avatārasaukhya*-portion, the only Ms. of which is described by WEBER in his *Catalogue of Berlin Mss.* Part I (Ms. No. 495, p. 147 f.). The verses are –

श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणानि विस्तीर्णानि पदे पदे ।
ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् टोडरानन्दे संक्षिप्तानि महीभृता ॥ २२ ॥
सर्गोऽवतारः कालस्य गणनं कालनिर्णयः ।
देशद्विजातिसंस्कारा आचारः शुद्धिनिर्णयः ॥ २३ ॥
श्राद्धानि वर्षकृत्यानि व्रतानां विधयस्ततः ।
प्रतिष्ठा (ष्ठा) विधयः पूजा देवतानां ततः परम् ॥ २४ ॥
दानानि ग्रहयागादि शान्तिकं तैर्थिको विधिः ।
विवादो व्यवहारश्च राजनीतिस्ततः परम् ॥ २५ ॥
प्रायश्चित्तं कर्मपाक आयुर्वेदः प्रसंगतः ।
ग्रंथेऽस्मिन् **टोडरानन्दे** सर्वमेतन्निबध्यते ॥ २६ ॥

Mss. of *Āyurvedasaukhyam* (No. 941, pp. 289-290), *Deśasaukhyam* (No. 1231, p. 345) and *Tīrthasaukhyam* (No. 1232, p. 345) have also been noted by WEBER in the same catalogue. The genealogy of Ṭoḍaramalla as given by WEBER in a foot-note on p. 345 of his catalogue is as follows—
Caṇḍabhānu (?)—Attali —Dāmābhiromākṛti (?)—Assū —Dvārakādāsa —Dvijamalla—Bhagavtīdāsa—Ṭoḍaramalla (minister of Akbar).

It is now clear that Ṭoḍaramalla cannot be the author of *Nidānacintāmaṇi*, as the former's father was Bhagavatīdāsa, but the latter's was Beim Deva. Secondly, we find no reference to *Ṭoḍarānanda* in the *Nidānacintāmaṇi*. Nor can the *Nidānacintāmaṇi* be a part of the *Ṭoḍarānanda* for the former is a commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, whereas, the latter is an

independent treatise. With regard to the possibility of Ṭoḍaramalla being a patron of Kānhaprabhu, there is this serious objection that the Colophon does not mention it. This is not the way to indicate patronage. Where-ever an author is patronised he either ascribes the work to his patron (as poet Dhāvaka ascribed the authorship of *Ratnāvalī* to Śri Harṣa) or indicates it as *kārita* by such and such king or written by the author who is the *pāda-padmopajīvin* or the like. Hence there is no other alternative except this that Ṭoḍaramalla was another name of Kānhaprabhu and that he was different from the minister of Akbar bearing that name.

Apart from Caraka, Suśruta, Dṛḍhabala, etc., our author quotes Bhoja, Videha and Kṣārapāṇi. Bhoja is an old authority on *Āyurveda* and is quoted in several works as an authority. He is referred to as the author of *Āyurvedasarvasva* (quoted as a work of Bhojadeva, by Trivikramadeva in his *Lauhapradīpa*, Ms. No. 974, WEBER'S *Cat. of Berlin mss.*, p. 301), *Rājamṛgāṅka* (a ms. of this work is noticed by BURNELL in his *Catalogue of Tanjore* mss., p. 69a) and *Cārucaryā* (See M. Seshagiri ŚASTRI's Report No. 2, under No. 51, pp. 102, 103, 260 and 261). The *Cikitsākalikā* of Candraṭa-Tīsaṭa (Ms. 974, WEBER'S *Cat. of Berlin mss.*, p. 293; AUFRECHT'S *Cat. of Oxford*, No. 852, p. 358a), *Vyākhyāmadhukoṣa* of Vijayarakṣita and *Prabhā*, Niścalakara's commentary on *Cakradattasaṅgraha* quote Bhoja and Videha. Bhoja is also quoted in *Yogaratnākara*, on foll. 253a, 297b and 343a, *India Office Catalogue* (*MS.* No. 2709), *Yogaśata* of Rūpanārāyaṇa (I. O. Cat. ms. No. 2757) and *Bheṣajakalpasārasaṅgraha* (Madras Oriental Mss. Cat. Vol. XXIII, p. 8873). Videha is also quoted as an authority by Nāganātha, son of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, in his *Nidānapradīpa* (I. O. Cat. MS. No. 2671). Kṣārapāṇi is quoted on fol. 142a in *Nidānacintāmaṇi*

रक्तगुल्मोऽष्टमः स्त्रिया एव प्रजायते न पुरुषस्य—तथा च क्षारपाणिः—

स्त्रीणामार्त्तवजो गुल्मो न पुंसामुपजायते ।

अन्यस्त्वसृग्भवो गुल्मः स्त्रीणां पुंसां च जायते ॥

He is mentioned nowhere else except twice in *Prabhā*. It is very difficult to say whether he is different from, or identical with Kṣīrapāṇi, *Kṣā°* being only a scribe's error for *Kṣī°*. Unfortunately, these references do not help us in determining the date of our author.

The name of our author's father, Beiṁ Devaprabhu, might suggest that he was a ruling prince or some royalty, the titles *Deva* and *Prabhu* being significant. But the epithet *vaidya* standing before the name of our author and his father (who is called *mahāvaidya* at one place) would indicate that they belonged to a family of practising physicians. Does *Prabhu* indicate the *Kāyastha* caste?

Before finishing this paper, I would like to mention one more fact. Vāgbhaṭa I, the author of *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* is usually referred to as *Vṛddha-Vāgbhaṭa* in *āyurvedic* treatises, but the name *Laghu-Vāgbhaṭa* for Vāgbhaṭa II, the author of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, is nowhere mentioned except in the *Nidānacintāmaṇi*.

KING ŚĀTAKARṆI OF THE SANCHI INSCRIPTION

By

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, Calcutta.

The Nanaghaṭ inscriptions appear to suggest that King Śātakarṇi Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati was the son of Śimuka Sātavāhana and the husband of queen Nāganikā. This Sātakarṇi is generally identified with the third king of the Purāṇic list of Andhra kings and also with Śātakarṇi lord of Pratiṣṭhāna, mentioned in Indian literature (RAYACHAUDHURI, *PHAI*, 2nd ed., p. 263). The southern gateway in the balustrade of the great *stūpa* at Sanchi contains an inscription which mentions a king named Śātakarṇi. On the evidence of this inscription, it is now generally believed that at the time of the early Sātavāhanas Sanchi which is situated near the ancient city of Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa), the capital of Ākara (eastern portion of modern Malwa), and therefore eastern Malwa itself, formed a part of the Sātavāhana dominions. Regarding the palaeography of the Sanchi inscription, BÜHLER says (*EI*, II, p. 88) that the characters "are almost identical with those of the Nanaghat inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of the characters of Aśoka's times." BÜHLER therefore proposed to identify king Śātakarṇi of the Sanchi inscription with the king of the same name mentioned in the Nanaghat and Hathigumpha inscriptions. Scholars like MARSHALL (*Guide to Sanchi*, p. 13) and DUBREUIL (*AHD*, pp. 14-15) however object to this identification on the grounds that Śātakarṇi who is mentioned in the Nanaghat and Hathigumpha inscriptions reigned about the middle of the second century B.C.[1]; the Sanchi region in east Malwa which at that time was ruled by the Śuṅgas could not therefore have been included in the dominions of a Sātavāhana king. It has therefore been suggested that "BÜHLER is mistaken in assigning so early a date to this inscription and that this king....is to be identified with one of the several Śātakarṇis who appear later in the Purāṇic lists" (RAPSON, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. XXIV).

DUBREUIL says (*loc. cit.*), "It is not impossible that a Sātavāhana helped Vāsudeva in his usurpation and so appropriated the country of Bhilsa to

1. Prof. RAYACHAUDUHRI appears to believe that Simuka defeated Kāṇva Suśarman about 30 B.C. (*Op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 338). This theory would place the Nanaghat record, supposed to belong to the time of Nāganikā's regency, about the beginning of the 1st century A.D. Palaeographically, however, the Nanaghat inscription does not appear to be later than the Besnagar inscription of the time of Antialkidas who, according to the Professor, "may have belonged to the latter half of the second century B.C., or the first half of the next century" (ib., p. 339, n. 1). But the angular forms of letters like *v*, *p*, *m*, etc., are occasionally found in the Hathigumpha inscription which is therefore later than the Nanāghaṭ and Besnagar epigraphs and should possibly be placed not earlier than beginning of the 1st century A.D.

himself. It must have taken place about 72 B.C. Besides, it is very probable that the Śakas invaded northern India in the middle of the 1st century before our era ; it is possible that this great conquest took place about 58 B.C. ; at this epoch the Sātavāhanas would have been driven not only from Bhilsa but also out of Mahārāṣṭra. There is, therefore room to think that the Śātakarṇi who is mentioned in the Sanchi gateway reigned at Bhilsa (? Besnagar) between 72 B.C. and 58 B.C. or in round figures from 70 to 60 B.C." The assumptions of DUBREUIL thus place the Sanchi inscription a century after the date assigned to the epigraph by BÜHLER, and this is simply because a Śātakarṇi who ruled over the Sanchi region cannot be placed in the middle of the second century B.C., the time of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga who is known to have his secondary capital at Vidiśā. I am not going to examine the palaeographical standard of the Sanchi record, or to suggest that the early Sātavāhanas overpowered the Śuṅgas and temporarily occupied the Vidiśā region, or that the Śuṅgas took that region from the Sātavāhanas who conquered it during the weak rule of Aśoka's successors. All that I am going to point out in this paper is that the Sanchi inscription does not furnish definite proof as regards Sātavāhana occupation of the Sanchi region.

The Sanchi inscription (LÜDERS, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 346) reads : *rāño siri-sātakaṇisa āvesanisa vāsiṭhiputasa ānaṃdasa dānaṃ*, " gift of Vasiṣṭhīputra Ānanda foreman of the artisans of king Śrī-Śātakarṇi." It must be noted that the remains of the Buddhist *stūpas* at Sanchi contain as many as 285 inscriptions which record donations made by pious men and women who evidently visited the sacred shrines on pilgrimage. The names of the donors and generally also of the places from which they came are recorded, and " we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninty-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay members of the Buddhist sect." (*EI*, II, pp. 91-92). We further see that pilgrims flocked to this sacred place not only from Vidiśā and the neighbouring villages but also from such distant localities as Ujjayinī (LÜDERS, *op. cit.*, Nos. 172, etc.), Navagrāma in the Ujjayinī district (No. 268), Māhiṣmatī (No. 375), Tumbavana, i.e. Tumain (Nos. 201, etc.), and Puṣkara (Nos. 370, etc.). Now, the distance between Sanchi near Bhilsa and Puṣkara near Ajmer is almost the same as that between Sanchi and Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paiṭhān in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's dominions. If people came on pilgrimage to Sanchi from distant Puṣkara, it is not impossible that pilgrims from Pratiṣṭhāna also visited the sacred place for similar purposes. That pilgrims flocked to such Buddhist establishments as that of Sanchi from distant places is also proved by a number of inscriptions on the remains of many *stūpas* in different parts of India (Cf. *EI.*, XX, p. 21 ll. 19-22 ; p. 22. ll. 13-14 and the expression *Sīhaḷa-vihāra*=*Simhala vihāra* in ll. 25-26). Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ānanda seems to have visited the *stūpas* at Sanchi like other pilgrims, and this fact alone is not sufficient to prove Sātavāhana occupation of the Sanchi region at that time simply because Ānanda happens to have been an officer of king Śātakarṇi of Pratiṣṭhāna. If the record of

Ānanda proves the rule of Śātakarṇi over Sañchi, similar other records may as well prove the rule of the king or kings of Ujjayinī, Māhiṣmatī and Puṣkara over the same area at that time. The Sātavāhana occupation of Sanchi cannot therefore be accepted without further evidence.

In this connection, it is interesting to note another similar Sanchi inscription (No. 169) which records "the gift of queen (*devī*) Vākalā or Vākilā, the mother of Ahimitra." Now, nobody would suggest that Ahimitra belonged to the Sātavāhana family. No name of the Sātavāhana princes so far known ends in *mitra*. It is however well-known that out of the ten names of Śuṅga kings found in the Purāṇas, at least five (including Jeṣṭha identified with Jeṭhamitra of the coins) end in *mitra*. Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the Besnagar inscription of Bhāgavata (the ninth Śuṅga king according to the Purāṇās) appear to suggest that Vidiśā was in the possession of all ten Śuṅga kings. Unless therefore it is proved that Ahimitra belonged to a local ruling family which was subordinate to the Sātavāhanas of Pratiṣṭhāna, it may not be quite unreasonable to suggest that Ahimitra was a Śuṅga prince of Vidiśā and *devī* Vākilā was a Śuṅga queen. Two other Sanchi inscriptions (Nos. 172, etc.) record 'the gift of the Vākilīyas from Ujjayinī and BÜHLER believed that queen Vākalā or Vākilā was a girl of this Vākilīya family of Ujjayinī, the name of which he derived from Vṛkala, a name found in the mythological lists of the Purāṇas (*EI.*, II, p. 93). May it further be suggested that the marriage of Śuṅga prince of Vidiśā with a girl of the Vākilīyas of Ujjayinī formed the nucleus of the tradition of Agnimitra Śuṅga's marriage with Mālavikā (literally, a princess of Mālava or of the Mālavas) recorded in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*? This however should be taken as merely a suggestion, and I must admit that Kālidāsa does not connect Mālavikā with Malwa.

In conclusion, I must refer to the old lead and potin coins of a type which RAPSON calls the Malwa fabric. These coins bear the legend *rāño siri-sātasa*, and this king Sāta has been identified by RAPSON with Sātakarṇi of the Nanaghat inscriptions. The same scholar however says (*op. cit.*, p. xcii), "Although no record of the *provenance* of these coins has been preserved, their attribution to the region of Malwa would seem to be extremely probable from a consideration of their types; and as they are round in form, we may perhaps advance one step further and attribute them to East Malwa, in accordance with an observation made by General Sir A. CUNNIGHAM." It may be noted that, according to CUNNIGHAM, the coins of Ujjayinī (i.e., Avanti or West Malwa) are invariably round pieces while those of Besnagar and Eran (i.e. Ākara or East Malwa) are nearly all square. If even the Ujjayinī characteristics of the coins of Sāta are thought sufficient to prove Sātavāhana occupation of west Malwa, they certainly do not conclusively prove that East Malwa formed a part of the Sātavāhana dominions.

THE NALA EPISODE AND THE RĀMĀYAṆA

By

V. S. SUKTHANKAR, Poona.

There must be indeed very few Sanskritists who have read the justly popular Nala-Damayantī episode of the Mahābhārata and not felt disposed to echo the sentiments of A. W. V. SCHLEGEL that the poem "can hardly be surpassed in pathos and ethos, in the enthralling force and tenderness of the sentiments."[1] It is without doubt one of the most beautiful love stories of the world, striking on account of the simplicity of its style and the beauty of its imagery. Owing to its innate attractiveness and transparent lucidity, it has been the custom, since a long time, at almost all Western Universities, to begin the study of Sanskrit with the reading of this romantic little poem, for which purpose it is no doubt excellently suited. Its popularity may be judged from the fact that it has been translated not only into English, French and German, but also into Italian, Swedish, Czech, Polish, Russian, Greek and Hungarian among the European languages.[2] Every province of India can of course boast of its own version of this superb little epopee.

Regarded as an integral part of the Mahābhārata,[3] the episode is a palpable "interpolation", impeding annoyingly the march of the epic story, and is forced upon the reader of the Epic in the most barefaced manner. During the exile of the Pāṇḍavas they receive a casual visit from a peripatetic sage called Bṛhadaśva. Yudhiṣṭhira—as is usual with him—complains to him of the misfortune which has overtaken him and his family, and asks the sage whether there has ever been a more unfortunate king than himself. Thereupon Bṛhadaśva forthwith relates the Nala story, in 27 adhyāyas, comprising something like 1100 stanzas or 2200 lines. There could be no clearer instance of deliberate interpolation, introduced with a coolness difficult to match. Yet we are really intensely grateful at heart in this case, as in the case of the Sāvitrī episode,—the two immortal stories that are known and loved throughout the length and breadth of India—that some meddlesome interpolator had the courage to interrupt deliberately the smooth flow of the epic narrative with these beautiful digressions and thus saved them

1. Cited by WINTERNITZ, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1927), p. 382, referring to *Indische Bibliothek*, I, 98 f.

2. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 383 n.

3. Āraṇyakaparvan, adhy. 53-79 (Bombay edition). In the Critical Edition these adhyāyas have been tentatively numbered 50-78. The abbreviation "B." in the references means the Bombay ed. of the Mahābhārata.

from falling a prey to the ravages of Time. And so with a number of other interpolations in the Great Epic. Many of them richly deserved to be "interpolated" in this Golden Treasury of the Myths and Legends of India.

Not only has the Nala-Damayantī poem what may be called a lively story-interest, but it is also clothed in a most attractive garb. The charmingly simple diction of this exquisite little poem is marked by a rigorous economy of words and "ornaments"; the construction of the story is also on the whole remarkably faultless.: qualities which have endeared it to connoisseurs all the world over. The narrative, like a sylvan brook, runs its meandering course naturally and smoothly to its destined conclusion. And in spite of a few inevitable scenes of divine intervention and a little exaggeration necessary for artistic effect, we carry away the impression that the story rests on a foundation of fact, and we feel that it may all have happened, in those wonderful bygone times, exactly as it is narrated here.

In the whole length of this carefully and artistically constructed poem there is just one passage which is apt slightly to perplex a careful reader. It is the soliloquy of the Brahmin Sudeva in chapter 16 of the poem (B. 3. 68. 8 ff.). On reading this passage a discerning reader would notice for one thing a sudden change to a rather florid style, marked by a plethora of epithets and a rich embroidery of similes.

The situation is this. King Nala, having deserted Damayantī where she lay asleep, strode through the forest aimlessly until he met the snake-king Karkoṭaka, who, in return for a good turn done to him, transformed the handsome Nala into an ugly hunchback and advised him to go to Ayodhyā and seek service as a charioteer with king Ṛtuparṇa. Nala does so and remains at the court of Ṛtuparṇa in the service of the king. His whereabouts and identity are not known to any living soul besides himself: which is a *very important* point in the narrative. Damayantī, in the meanwhile, after a number of perilous adventures, reaches, by a fortunate coincidence, the palace of the queen of the Cedis, who is no other than Damayantī's own aunt (as is revealed later), who takes compassion on her and gives her shelter. In course of time the evil tidings of the fateful game of dice and the subsequent exile of Nala and Damayantī reached king Bhīma, Damayantī's father. Thereupon he called to him some Brahmins and enjoined them, with promise of rich gifts, that they should search for Nala and Damayantī and bring them back to him. One of these Brahmins, the fortunate Sudeva, comes to the country of the Cedis and there, in the palace hall, he sees Damayantī and recognizes her forthwith. On seeing the wan, unkempt and forlorn appearance of the beautiful princess of Vidarbha, he indulges in a soliloquy before addressing her directly. This passage, as already remarked, seems marked out from the rest of the poem by attempts at higher flights of imagination, approaching the requirements of what is known as the Kāvya style. Damayantī is here successively compared by Sudeva to Śrī (or Lakṣmī), to the full moon, to Rati (Cupid's consort), to the splendour of the full moon, to a lotus stalk, to a full-moon night, to a river, to

a lotus pool, again to a lotus stalk, and finally to the crescent of the moon (B. 3. 68 10-17). That, however, is a minor matter.

The really perplexing part of the soliloquy is the way in which Sudeva refers to Nala in the following stanza (B. 3. 68. 20) :

duṣkaraṁ kurute 'tyarthaṁ hīno, yad anayā Nalaḥ |
dhārayaty ātmano deham na śokenāvasīdati ||

"Extremely difficult is the trial of Nala who, deprived of her (scil. Damayantī), supports his body and does not pine away in sorrow!"

This can be properly said by a person who knows that Nala is heroically bearing the cruel blow of fate which had temporarily separated him from his beloved, and above all that Nala is alive. But for all Sudeva knew, Nala might have been dead. Here is a slight incongruity to start with. It might be argued that as it was not definitely known that Nala was dead, Sudeva was to a certain extent justified in assuming that Nala was alive, and so this outburst was after all not so very incongruous. But, even if he were alive, how was Sudeva to know whether Nala wanted to recover Damayantī; in fact, to know at all what feelings Nala entertained then about Damayantī: they might conceivably have been even hostile, for all Sudeva could say. Such minute analysis of hidden motives and distant possibilities might, however, be regarded as captious criticism, when considering such an old-world love poem as this.

The disturbing thought however recurs when a few lines later we read (B. 3. 68. 23 ab) :

asyā nūnaṁ punarlābhān Naiṣadhaḥ prītim eṣyati |

"Through her recovery Nala will become happy indeed",

words which again definitely presuppose that Nala is alive and anxious to rediscover his lost Damayantī, neither of which facts could have been known to Sudeva, and whose assumption by him is quite gratuitous and most puzzling to the reader. Inappropriate to a certain extent are in the same context the adjectives *aprameyasya* and *vīryasattvavataḥ* (stanza 25) applied to Nala. Was it not through Nala's own insane infatuation for dice that Damayantī was reduced to this condition, and all that great disaster was brought upon the two families? A discordant note is likewise struck by the words *Naiṣadho 'rhati Vaidarbhīm* (stanza 24), which under these circumstances seem peculiarly inappropriate. One rather feels at this stage that poor Damayantī had definitely made the wrong choice at the svayaṁvara: she would have been much happier had she chosen, in preference to the profligate Nala, one of the four gods who were wooing her.

Another very curious thing we notice about this passage is that while Sudeva waxes eloquent about Nala and his sufferings, he has no thought at the moment for king Bhīma, who is Sudeva's patron and who has dispatched him on this errand. Sudeva has not a word to say in this long soliloquy as to how glad the fond parents would be on seeing their beloved Damayantī and how happy Damayantī would be on being reunited to her kinsfolk. From

his present words we could never guess that he had been sent by king Bhīma or that he had any connection with the House of Vidarbha.

Our first thought is that the whole passage is one of those modern interpolations which have unintentionally disfigured many a fine old poem. The manuscripts do not however countenance such an idea. The passage is documented uniformly by all manuscripts alike. It is therefore not in any case a recent interpolation. Moreover the idea itself of the soliloquy is not by any means inherently inappropriate; only the precise wording and some of the sentiments expressed seem a little incongruous.

We are therefore led to conclude that the poet's own knowledge of the real state of things, that Nala was not dead and that, repenting his hasty abandonment of Damayantī, he was then making reproaches to himself and was in fact longing to meet his lost Damayantī, had betrayed the poet into putting those words in the mouth of Sudeva, anticipating what was actually going to happen : a mistake common in the works of careless and inexperienced writers.

That this also is not the correct explanation of the anomaly follows, however, from the fact that almost all the lines forming this soliloquy of Sudeva recur almost *verbatim* in the long soliloquy of Hanumat in the Sundarakāṇḍa (adhy. 18 ff., ed. GORRESIO) of the Rāmāyaṇa at the time when he first sees Sītā in the Aśoka grove of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā,--a soliloquy which, as will be made clear, is the source of the passage under discussion from the Nala episode.

The two situations, it will be recalled, have a superficial similarity. The heroine is lost, and messengers have been sent, by persons interested in her recovery, to find out her whereabouts. One of these messengers, more fortunate than the rest, suddenly and unexpectedly lights upon her, whereupon he just stands gazing at her and giving vent to his mixed feelings of joy and sorrow in the form of a soliloquy.

The one important difference between the two situations—a difference obviously overlooked by the adapter—is that in one case--the Rāmāyaṇa—the messenger, Hanumat, has been sent by Rāma himself, and the messenger therefore knows exactly the state of the mind of the husband of the missing princess; whereas in the other case, the Nala episode, the messenger, sent by king Bhīma, has not only no knowledge of Nala's feelings towards Damayantī, but he does not even know whether Nala, *who is missing*, is alive or dead. And that makes a deal of difference. The words of the Rāmāyaṇa soliloquy are wholly appropriate in the mouth of the Monkey Chieftain; but the same words, in spite of a few necessary verbal alterations made by the adapter, prove on close scrutiny, as shown above, just a trifle incongruous in the soliloquy of Sudeva.

The extent of the similarity between the two passages will be clear from the following table in which the related lines are given in parallel columns.

Mahābhārata (Bom. ed.) 3. 68. 8 ff. [Emended][1]		Rāmāyaṇa (ed. GORRESIO) Sundarakāṇḍa[2] (Adhy. 18, 19, 21, 29)	
8	mandaprakhyāyamānena rūpeṇāpratimena tām | pinaddhāṁ dhūmajālena prabhām iva vibhāvasoḥ ||	18. 4	mandaṁ prakhyāyamānena rūpeṇāpratimena tām | pinaddhāṁ dhūmajālena prabhām iva vibhāvasoḥ || (cf. 10 cd also)
9	tāṁ samīkṣya viśālākṣīm adhikaṁ malināṁ kṛśām | tarkayāmāsa Bhaimīti kāraṇair upapādayan ||	18. 22	tāṁ samīkṣya viśālākṣīm adhikaṁ malināṁ kṛśām | tarkayāmāsa Sīteti | kāraṇair upapādayan ||
10	yatheyaṁ me purā dṛṣṭā tathārūpeyam aṅganā | kṛtārtho 'smy adya dṛṣṭvemāṁ lokakāntām iva Śriyam ||	18. 23cd 18. 27ab	yathā purā vai dṛṣṭā me tathārūpeyam aṅganā | tāṁ dṛṣṭvā taptahemābhāṁ lokakāntām iva Śriyam |
11	pūrṇacandrānanāṁ śyāmāṁ cāruvṛttapayodharām | kurvantīṁ prabhayā devīṁ sarvā vitimirā diśaḥ ||	18. 24	pūrṇacandrānanā śyāmā cāruvṛttapayodharā | kurvantī prabhayā devī sarvā vitimirā diśaḥ ||
12.	cārupadmapalāśākṣīṃ Manmathasya Ratīm iva | iṣṭāṁ sarvasya jagataḥ pūrṇacandraprabhām iva ||	18. 26	padmapattraviśālākṣīṁ Manmathasya Ratīm iva | iṣṭāṁ sarvasya jagataḥ pūrṇacandranibhām iva ||
13	Vidarbhasarasas tasmād daivadoṣād ivoddhṛtām | malapaṅkānuliptāṅgīṁ mṛṇālīm iva tāṁ bhṛśam ||	19. 15cd 18. 16cd	Ikṣvākusarasas tasmād Rāvaṇenoddhṛtā balāt | malapaṅkadharāṁ dīnāṁ maṇḍanārhām amaṇḍitām |
14	paurṇamāsīm iva niśāṁ Rāhugrastaniśākarām | patiśokākulāṁ dīnāṁ śuṣkasrotāṁ nadīm iva ||	21. 14ab 21. 15cd	paurṇamāsīm iva niśāṁ Rāhugrastaniśākarām | patiśokāturāṁ dīnāṁ śuṣkasrotonadīm iva |

1. The readings adopted here are readings of the "Vulgate," emended in the light of collations prepared for the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata and available at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

2. The text given here is that of GORRESIO. The Bombay editions have a slightly discrepant version, but most of the stanzas cited here do occur in the Bombay editions also which were compared by me.

15	vidhvastaparṇakamalāṁ vitrāsitavihaṁgamām | hastihastaparikliṣṭāṁ vyākulām iva padminīm ||	21. 14cd 21. 15ab	vidhvastapattrakamalāṁ vitrāsitavihaṁgamām | hastihastaparikliṣṭām ākulāṁ padminīm iva ||
16	sukumārīṁ sujātāṅgīṁ ratnagarbhagṛhoṣitām | dahyamānām ivoṣṇena mṛṇālīm aciroddhṛtām ||	21. 16cd 21. 17ab	sukumārīṁ sujātāṅgīṁ ratnagarbhagṛhocitām | tapyamānām ivoṣṇena mṛṇālīm aciroddhṛtām ||
18	kāmabhogaiḥ priyaiḥ hīnāṁ hīnāṁ bandhujanena ca | dehaṁ dhārayatīṁ dīnāṁ bhartṛdarśanakāṅkṣayā ||	19. 23cd 19. 24ab	kāmabhogavihīneyaṁ hīnā bandhujanena ca | dhārayaty ātmano dehaṁ tatsamāgamakāṅkṣayā ||
19	bhartā nāma paraṁ nāryā bhūṣaṇaṁ bhūṣaṇair vinā | eṣā virahitā tena śobhanāpi na śobhate ||	19. 25cd 19. 26ab	bhartā nāma param nāryā bhūṣaṇaṁ bhūṣaṇair vinā | eṣā tasyānurāgeṇa śobhate 'py analaṁkṛtā ||
20	duṣkaraṁ kurute 'tyarthaṁ hīno yad anayā Nalaḥ | dhārayaty ātmano dehaṁ na śokenāvasīdati ||	19. 26cd 19. 27ab	duṣkaraṁ kurute Rāmo hīno yad anayā vibhuḥ | dhārayaty ātmano dehaṁ na śokenāvasīdati ||
21	imām asitakeśāntāṁ śatapattrāyatekṣaṇām | sukhārhāṁ duḥkhitāṁ dṛṣṭvā mamāpi vyathate manaḥ ||	19. 27cd 19. 28ab	imām asitakeśāntāṁ śatapattranibhānanām | sukhārhāṁ duḥkhitāṁ dṛṣṭvā mamāpi vyathitaṁ manaḥ ||
22	kadā nu khalu duḥkhasya pāraṁ yāsyati vai śubhā | bhartuḥ samāgamāt sādhvī Rohiṇī śaśino yathā ||	19. 28cd 19. 29ab	kadā tu khalu duḥkhasya pāraṁ yāsyati Maithilī | Rāghavasyāprameyasya Lakṣmaṇasya ca jīvataḥ ||
23	asyā nūnaṁ punarlābhān Naiṣadhaḥ prītim eṣyati | rājā rājyaparibhraṣṭaḥ punar labdhveva medinīm ||	19. 22cd 19. 23ab	nūnam asyā punarlābhād Rāghavaḥ prītim eṣyati | rājā rājyaparibhraṣṭaḥ punar labdhveva medinīm ||
24	tulyaśīlavayoyuktāṁ tulyābhijanasaṁyutām | Naiṣadho 'rhati Vaidarbhīṁ taṁ ceyam asitekṣaṇā ||	19. 32	tulyarūpavayoyuktāṁ tulyābhijanalakṣaṇām | Rāghavo 'rhati Vaidehīṁ | taṁ ceyam asitekṣaṇā ||
25	yuktaṁ tasyāprameyasya vīryasattvavato mayā | samāśvāsayituṁ bhāryāṁ | patidarśanalālasām ||	29. 6	yuktaṁ tasyāprameyasya satyaṁ sattvavato mayā | samāśvāsayituṁ bhāryāṁ patidarśanalālasām ||

26 ayam āśvāsayāmy enāṁ pūrṇacandranibhānanām |[1] adṛṣṭapūrvāṁ duḥkhasya duḥkhārtāṁ dhyānatatparām ||	29. 7ab adṛṣṭaduḥkhā duḥkhasya na hy antam adhigacchati |

The question which of the two passages is the original one, need not detain us long. It is *a priori* not very likely that Vālmīki who is credited with having composed an epic of the size and rank of the Rāmāyaṇa would need to borrow the idea or the phraseology of such a commonplace soliloquy from a poem like the Nalopākhyāna. The redactor of the Nala story is, therefore, clearly indicated as the poet who would be under obligation for his inspiration to the Ādi-kavi. This *a priori* conclusion is happily confirmed in the present instance by the fortuitous circumstance that the passage turns out to be somewhat of a misfit in our poem. The anomaly, as has been suggested above, can be explained only on the supposition that the Nalopākhyāna lines were borrowed *en bloc* from a slightly different context. The exact phrasing of the speech of the messenger was originally conceived for a somewhat different set of circumstances as pictured in the Rāmāyaṇa, in which the soliloquy fits perfectly. The borrowed plumes, as is very often the case, do not fit the new incumbent as well as the adapter had imagined or at least hoped. We have, therefore, here an indubitable proof of the direct borrowing of some Rāmāyaṇa material by one of the Mahābhārata poets.— not necessarily of course Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, but one of the "Epigoni", the Vyāsäids, who carried on the good work commenced by Vyāsa.

* * * *

The conclusion that the idea of this solioquy of Sudeva in the Nalopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata must necessarily have been borrowed by one of the redactors of the Great Epic from the Rāmāyaṇa is perhaps not without some significance for an understanding of the general interrelation of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, to which we may here advert in passing.[2]

The soliloquy discussed above is, as is well known, not by any means the only passage in which the Mahābhārata, shows contact with its sister epic,[3] and the question arises each time in the mind of the textual critic whether

1. The corresponding line has been omitted by GORRESIO, but is correctly given in the Bombay (Nirnaya Sagar Press) ed. (1888), 5. 30. 7ab (cf. p. 83), and in the Gujarati Printing Press ed. (1916), 5. 30. 7ab (cf. p. 1856), both editions reading *aham* for our *ayam*. Both Tilaka and Govindarājīya mention (the pratīka) *āśvāsayāmi*, showing that they knew the stanza.

2. The question has been discussed at some length by HOPKINS, *The Great Epic of India*, Chapter 2 ("Interrelation of the two Epics"); and by WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 501-517. See now also EUGENIUSZ SLUSZKIEWICZ, *Przyczynki do badan nad dziejami redakcyi Rāmāyaṇy*. (*Contributions à l'histoire des recensions du Rāmāyaṇa*). Polska Akademia Umiejetności. Prace Komisji Orientalistyczne Nr. 30. Kraków 1938.

3. Several such passages are mentioned by HOPKINS, *op. cit.* p. 73 ff.

the Mahābhārata or the Rāmāyaṇa is the source of the passage common to the two epics, a question to which, owing to the peculiar character and development of the Indian epics, no general answer is possible, though a partial solution of the problem may be attempted.

As remarked already, the Nala passage is not the only passage for which a parallel exists in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the Ādiparvan, for instance, in a cosmogonic chapter, I had occasion to draw attention to the fact that a passage of some 30 lines (1. 60. 54-67 of the Critical Edition) recurs almost verbatim in the Rāmāyaṇa (3. 14. 17-32, ed. Nirnaya Sagar Press). No definite evidence was available in that particular instance to show whether the passage was original to the Mahābhārata and had been borrowed by the Rāmāyaṇa, or *vice versa*, or again whether it had been borrowed by both epics independently from a third source. There seemed to me, however, to be some slight abruptness in the manner in which the stanzas were introduced in the Mahābhārata, which would suggest borrowing from the Rāmāyaṇa, where the context is smoother ; but, as the contents of the passage were of a very general nature, the third possibility mentioned above, namely, that both epics owed the idea to a common (Purāṇic) source, could not be entirely eliminated.

The Sabhāparvan again supplies the well known *kaccit* chapter (adhy. 5), which has its counterpart in the Rāmāyaṇa.[1] Here also the contents are of a very general character, having no direct bearing on the context of either the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata, and the whole passage could well have been adapted by both epics independently from an older Nīti tractate.

On the other hand, in the Āraṇyakaparvan, commonly known as the Vanaparvan, the Rāmopākhyāna closely follows in general our Rāmāyaṇa, notwithstanding some isolated though striking discrepancies between the two accounts.[2] There are also not wanting in the Rāmopākhyāna a few of our genuine Rāmāyaṇa stanzas which have been reproduced either verbatim or with but slight verbal alteration. To suggest that the Rāmopākhyāna was the original source which had inspired the revered Ādi-kavi to compose his Rāmāyaṇa would be again a *reductio ad absurdum*. The inevitable conclusion is that the diaskeuasts of the Rāmopākyāna knew and summarized an extensive older Rāma epic. The only doubt is whether the redactors of the Mahābhārata had utilized *our* version of the Rāmāyaṇa or some other older version unknown to us, to which the discrepant traits of our episode might be traced. After an intensive study and a close comparison of the two texts, the late Prof. JACOBI had definitely expressed himself in favour of the former alternative, namely, that the Rāmopākhyāna was a passably accurate summary of *our* Rāmāyaṇa, the discrepancies between the accounts being due either to casual misconception or else to natural and unavoidable failure of memory, of which instances are common in summaries and abstracts.[3]

1. Cf. HOPKINS, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* vol. xix, p. 149.
2. JACOBI, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 71 ff.
3. JACOBI, *loc. cit.* *Contra* HOPKINS, *op. cit.*, p. 63 : "the subject-matter of the Kāvya and episode is treated differently in several particulars (details, loc. cit.),

JACOBI's view, it seems to me, now finds further confirmation from the instance discussed above of direct borrowing from our Rāmāyaṇa text in a case where there is no intrinsic reason whatsoever for any reference to the Rāmāyaṇa at all. Evidence seems to be, therefore, gathering to show that our Rāmāyaṇa text—or the bulk of it, at any rate—was used as a " source " by the diaskeuasts of the Mahābhārata. We can even go further and admit with JACOBI that the Rāmāyaṇa must already have been " generally familiar as an *ancient* work before the Māhabhārata reached its final form."[1] On the other hand it will have to be admitted that the Mahābhārata makes in various ways a distinctly more archaic impression, a fact which has led some scholars to regard it as even a much older work than the other epic. We thus arrive at the apparent paradox that the Rāmāyaṇa is older than the Mahābhārata and the Mahābhārata is older than the Rāmāyaṇa. The only way we can resolve this paradox is by supposing—as has already been suggested by WINTERNITZ[2] and other writers on the subject—that the period of composition of the Rāmāyaṇa, which is a work with a distinctly more unitary character, falls within the much longer period of the evolution of the Mahābhārata, which latter compared to the other is a very complex and complicated work indeed.

This statement of the relationship between the two epics will appear perfectly valid and even natural when we remember that the evolution of the Great Epic of India falls into two distinct and separate phases, namely, the Bhārata and the Mahābhārata, the *caturviṁśatisāhasrī* (1. 1. 61 Crit. Ed.) and the *śatasāhasrī*, a fact which is documented in very clear terms by the work itself—and there is no reason to disbelieve it—but which for some unintelligible reason is not taken very seriously by people. Assuming, however, this to be a fact—which it undoubtedly is—we may hazard what seems to me to be a perfectly legitimate conjecture that the Rāmāyaṇa was composed in the interval which separated the Bhārata from the Mahābhārata. Thus, though we may admit that the Rāmāyaṇa was, as JACOBI says, a well-known work before the Mahābhārata reached its *ultimate* form, we must reckon with the possibility that when the Rāmāyaṇa itself (minus perhaps Books 1 and 7) was composed by the poet Vālmīki, the heroic poem Bhārata—the nucleus of our Mahābhārata—was already long in existence, current perhaps in some distant part of the country and in a different *milieu*. The Bhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa may have been indeed more or less independent products, different in origin and treatment. But when the Bhārgava redactors[14] set to work and converted the

which points to different workings-over of older matter rather than to copying or condensing."

1. JACOBI, *op. cit.* p. 71.
2. *Op. cit.* p. 505.
3. For the part played by the Bhṛgus in the development of the Mahābhārata, see my " Epic Studies (VI) : The Bhṛgus and the Bhārata : A text-historical study," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. 18, pp. 1-76 (particularly, pp. 63-76).

Bhārata into the Mahābhārata, conceived on a much larger scale and with a much more ambitious programme, they had already the archetype of our Rāmāyaṇa text before them and they made full use of it, absorbing in their own encylopaedic work all that they possibly could, and they were perhaps also influenced by it in no small degree. In fact the very impetus to the conversion of the Bhārata and the compilation of the Mahābhārata may well have been given by the contact with the sister epic, which appears to have had a more elevated ethical standard, a more serious didactic purpose, a much higher idealistic view of life, and a wider popular appeal.

A priori, then, whenever our Mahābhārata shows close *verbal* agreement with the *older* books of the Rāmāyaṇa, the presumption would be that we have to look upon the Rāmāyaṇa as the source, assuming of course that the common element is not of such a character that it could have been borrowed by both epics independently from a third source. It is naturally not excluded that the Rāmāyaṇa in its turn might have been influenced to a certain extent, at a still later epoch, in its further development, by the Mahābhārata, the new encyclopaedic Dharma Saṁhitā. In fact there is every indication that the interrelation between the two epics will reduce itself to a very complicated system of mutual actions and reactions, and it would be interesting to investigate the question more fully by collation of all possible parallelisms in ideas and expression between the two great epics of India.

THE PROBLEM OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NIRUKTA

By

LAKSHMAN SARUP, Lahore.

In my *Introduction to the Nirukta*[1], different recensions and stages of interpolations of the *Nirukta* were discussed. That discussion was based on the evidence, supplied by MSS., and the commentary of Durgācārya. Therein, I came to the conclusion that the text of the *Nirukta*, which can be reconstructed *in toto* from the commentary of Durgācārya, represents at present the earliest form of the text of the *Nirukta*. The external evidence, in the form of MSS. and commentaries, enables one to trace the history of the text of the *Nirukta*, up to the time[2] of Durgācārya only. Beyond the time of Durgācārya, external evidence fails to throw any light on the history of the text of the *Nirukta*. This however, does not mean that the text of the *Nirukta*, as represented by the commentary of Durgācārya is identical with the archetype. Internal evidence, in the form of a critical examination of the text itself, reveals the fact that it had been tampered with even before the time of Durgācārya. An attempt is made in this paper to detect the interpolations which were inserted in the text of the *Nirukta* before the time of Durgācārya. These additional passages are regarded as integral parts of the *Nirukta* by Durgācārya himself but are nevertheless ancient interpolations.

Yāska defines and enumerates expletives in N. 1.9 : अथ ये प्रवृत्तेऽर्थेऽमिताक्षरेषु ग्रन्थेषु वाक्यपूरणा आगच्छन्ति पदपूरणास्ते मिताक्षरेष्वनर्थकाः । कमीमिद्विती ।

"Now the words which are used—the sense being complete—to fill up a sentence in prose,[3] and a verse in poetic, compositions,[4] are expletives : ***kam***, *īm*, *id*, and *u*'.

Suitable quotations are cited to illustrate the use of the four expletives. Yāska's method is to quote a passage in which an expletive is used and to ignore it in his commentary on the quoted passage and thereby to show that it does not, express, any meaning in that particular passage, e.g., शिशिरं जीवनाय कम् । is simply paraphrased as शिशिरं जीवनाय । कम् is ignored. Similarly एमेनं सृजासुते (RV. 1.9.2.) is paraphrased as आसृजतैनं सुते ।, ईम् being ignored.

1. Oxford University Press, 1920.

2. In my opinion, Durga should be assigned to the 1st century A.D., see my Introduction to the commentary of Skandasvāveri and Maheśvara on the Nirukta, Vols. III and IV.

3. Lit. 'in works of unmeasured syllables'.

4. Lit. '(in works) of measured syllables'.

तमिद्वर्धन्तु नो गिरः ।(RV. VIII. 92.21.) is paraphrased as तं वर्धयन्तु नो गिरः। इद् is ignored. अयमु ते समतसि। (RV. I. 30.4.) is explained as अयं ते समतसि। उ is ignored.

Four expletives only are enumerated by Yāska in 1.9. Their use is illustrated in 1.10. Section 10 should therefore come to an end with अयं ते समतसि but it does not. It continues to explain इव as an expletive. इवोऽपि दृश्यते। सु विदुरिव। सु विज्ञायेते इव। '*Iva* is also used (as an expletive), as 'they all knew it well' and 'they both knew it well.' Firstly, इव is not included in the list of expletives as given by Yāska in 1.9. Had he intended to explain *iva* as an expletive, he would have enumerated it along with the four other expletives, and the sentence in 1.9. would have read कमीमिद्विवेति instead of कमीमिद्वेति as at present. In my opinion, Yāska did not recognise *iva* as an expletive, and did not therefore include it in the list of expletives in 1.9.

Secondly, Yāska explains the quotations cited to illustrate the four expletives but in the case of *iva*, the example is not further paraphrased and it is therefore not shown that *iva* is really an expletive in these two cases. The illustration is therefore not in the style of Yāska. Whereas each of the four expletives mentioned in 1.9. is illustrated with one example only, *iva*, not enumerated in 1.9, is explained with two examples. In the case of the former, passages to illustrate the use of expletives are cited from the RV. and some other text not yet discovered, but in the case of the latter, *i.e. iva*, examples do not seem to be derived from literature. I wonder if *iva* has ever been used as an expletive in literature. In my opinion, the whole line इवोऽपि दृश्यते। सु विदुरिव सु विज्ञायेते इव। is a later interpolation.

Further, the following line in a section on expletives is quite irrelevant :--

अथापि नेत्येष इदित्येतेन संप्रयुज्यते परिभये।

"Moreover the word *na* is combined with *id*, in (the sense of) 'apprehension'".

Similarly, the passage : अथापि न चेत्येष इदित्येतेन संप्रयुज्यतेऽनुपृष्टे। न चेत् सुरां पिबन्तीति etc. is irrelevant, in a section on expletives.

"Moreover, the words *na ca* are joined with the word *id*, in interrogation, as 'do they not drink wine ?," etc.

Both these passages together with their examples, etymologies are later interpolations. In my opinion, the line अयं ते समतसि was immediately followed, in the original text of Yāska by the sentence : एवमुच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्ति । त उपेक्षितव्याः।

To Kautsa's remarks that Vedic stanzas have no meaning, Yāska rejoins that Vedic stanzas are significant, because (their) words are identical (with those of the spoken language). It was expected that Yāska would illustrate his statement अर्थवन्तः शब्दसामान्यात् with an appropriate quotation

from Vedic literature. But in the text of the *Nirukta,* this statement of Yāska is immediately followed by a Brāhmaṇa-passage, quite irrelevant to the controversy. The Brāhmaṇa-passage is then followed by a quotation from RV. X.85.42. This Vedic quotation illustrates the identity of Vedic words with the words of the colloquial language and should have been put immediately after Yāska's sentence अर्थवन्तः शब्दसामान्यात् । In my opinion, the intervening Brāhmaṇa-passage is a later interpolation or at least, it is misplaced. This quotation should immediately follow the sentence

यथो एतद् ब्राह्मणेन.......स भवति ।

In 1.17., Yāska emphasises the utility of etymology in the division of words : अथापीदमन्तरेण पदविभागो न विद्यते । Then follow appropriate examples to illustrate the same. This topic comes to an end with the sentence चतुर्थ्यर्थप्रेक्षा । ऐकारान्तम् । The rest of the 17th section, except the last sentence

अथापि ज्ञानप्रशंसा भवति । अज्ञाननिन्दा च ।

is quite irrelevant. The irrelevant passage is the following :—

परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता । पदप्रकृतिः संहिता । पदप्रकृतीनि सर्वचरणानां पार्षदानि ।

अथापि याज्ञे (यज्ञे) दैवतेन बहवः प्रदेशा भवन्ति । तदेतेनोपेक्षितव्यम् । ते चेद् ब्रूयुर्लिङ्गज्ञा अत्र स्म इति । इन्द्रं न त्वा शवसा देवता वायुं पृणन्ति । इति वायुलिङ्गं चेन्द्रलिङ्गं चाग्नेये मन्त्रे ।

अग्निरिव मन्यो त्विषितः सहस्व । इति तथाग्निर्मान्यवे मन्त्रे । त्विषितो ज्वलितः । त्विषिरित्यप्यस्य दीप्तिर्नाम भवति ।

In addition to its irrelevancy, the sentences in the passages, beginning with अथापि etc. are clumsily constructed and are incomplete and inconclusive. I think the whole passage परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता...दीप्तिनाम भवति is a later interpolation.

The whole of the eighteenth section is evidently a later interpolation. 'Praise of Knowledge', and 'Censure of ignorance' are illustrated with two Vedic stanzas X.71.4 and X.71.5. There was therefore no need to quote non-Vedic verses, in support of the same. Yāska generally quotes from Vedic literature. Whenever he finds illustrations from Vedic literature, he refrains from quotations from non-Vedic literature.

The quotation in II. 3 : यस्मात्परं etc. does not serve any useful purpose. There was nothing to be illustrated, so there was no need of a quotation.

Moreover Yāska uses the word *nigama* to denote a Vedic quotation. In this case, the word *nigama* is used for a non-Vedic passage. This is against the practice of Yāska. In my opinion, the quotation यस्मात्परं etc. together with the words इत्यपि निगमो भवति did not originally form an integral part of the text of the *Nirukta.*

The whole of the fourth section of the second chapter seems to be a later interpolation. The quoted verses merely reiterate the idea of the prose sentences, at the end of the third section. There are two main ideas in the

prose sentences : (1) firstly, a negative idea that etymology should not be taught to the uninitiated and to one who is not properly qualified, (2) secondly, a positive idea that etymology should be taught to one who is endowed with certain qualities. The prose passage नैकपदानि निर्ब्रूयात् । नावैयाकरणाय नानुपसन्नाय । अनिदंविदे वा । नित्यं ह्यविज्ञातुर्विज्ञानेऽसूया । has its correspondence in the second hemistich of the first verse : असूयकायानृजवेऽयतायनमा ब्रूयाः । Similarly, the positive statement : उपसन्नाय तु निर्ब्रूयात् । यो वालं विज्ञातुं स्यात् । मेधाविने । तपस्विने वा । has its correspondence in the following line :

यमेव विद्याः शुचिमप्रमत्तं मेधाविनं ब्रह्मचर्योपपन्नम् ।
यस्ते न द्रुह्येत् कतमच्चनाह तस्मै मा ब्रूया निधिपाय ब्रह्मन् ॥

The verses merely repeat the ideas of the prose passage.

Moreover, the verses do not discuss etymology at all. As far as etymology is concerned they are quite irrelevant. They lay down instruction with regard to imparting education in general and as such have no special bearing on etymology. So the whole of this section is not the work of Yāska.

Gau 'earth' and its synonyms are dealt with by Yāksa in II. 5-7. The end of this discussion is indicated by the statement : इतीमान्येकविंशतिः पृथिवीनामधेयान्यनुक्रान्तानि । But after applying the closure, the discussion is again continued : तत्र निर्ऋतिर्निरमणात् । ऋच्छतेः कृच्छ्रापत्तिरितरा । सा पृथिव्या संदिह्यते तयोर्विभागः । तस्या एषा भवति ॥ ७ ॥ य ईं चकार etc.

I think this whole passage is an interpolation.

Further the following passage :

शाकपूणिः संकल्पयाञ्चक्रे सर्वा देवता जानानीति । तस्मै देवतोभयलिङ्गा प्रादुर्बभूव...वर्षेण प्रच्छाद्य पृथिवीं तत्पुनरादत्ते ॥ ९ ॥ is wholly irrelevant and is, in my opinion, a later interpolation.

What seems to have happened is that some reader or readers wrote these passages as notes on the margin of the folios of a MS. At the time of copying the MS., the scribe took them to be integral parts of the text of the *Nirukta* and inserted them in the text itself and thereafter they came to be regarded as genuine parts of the *Nirukta*. But a critical examination enables us to separate the genuine from the spurious parts.

THE GREAT ŚIVA IMAGE AT ELEPHANTA

By

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, Madras.

The image illustrated above is the main image in the great temple at Elephanta, or Gharapuri as it is called, and is described by CORDRINGTON in the following words :—" Behind it is the great trinity, the Trimūrti, or rather Mahesamurti, in which the qualities of Brahma, the creator, and Vishnu the preserver, are portrayed as being absorbed by, and comprehended in, the dominating personality of Siva, Lingesvara."[1] This statement raises a number of points of interest not merely to the artist but to the student of Sanskrit literature generally. The first point that arises out of this is whether Trimūrti and Mahēśamūrti are terms synonymous, and whether they are, in the form expressed in the image here, describable as the great trinity. " The great trinity " in Indian parlance would be the three mūrtis, Brahma, Vishṇu, Śiva in the plenitude of their power and qualities, each represented by itself with all the characteristic symbols, weapons, etc. As such these should be, and are generally, represented as separate figures Brahma, Vishṇu and Śiva, even where they happen to be located in the same shrine, as in one of the caves at Mahābalipuram, and the cave at Trichinopoly, both of which belong to the period of Pallava ascendency. But the Trimūrti is also represented as a single image where the three are combined, each with distinctive features, so that the distinct character of the three mūrtis is still maintained, and, as a general rule, in a Śaiva Trimūrti, the central figure would be that of Śiva, the figure on the right of the central image being that of Brahma, and that on the left Vishṇu. If the image at Gharapuri is Trimūrti, we shall have to find the distinct features of Brahma, Vishṇu, Śiva in the three faces constituting the composite figure.

An examination of the figure will show clearly that the figure to the right of the centre could hardly be described as Brahma by any stretch of thought. If any specific feature should be indicated as invalidating this description, the ornament of the skull on the head which is visible, the rather grim look of the countenance, the form of the moustach, and the absence of the beard would negative any identification with Brahma, or the possibility of regarding it as a representation of Brahma. In respect of the figure on the left also, it would not be easy to find features characteristic of Vishṇu. The description therefore of the figure as Trimūrti, as the term is ordinarily understood, seems to be unsuitable.

The question would naturally arise what then is the form of the Trimūrti represented. Mahēśamūrti would certainly be nearer to that, Mahēśa

1. *The Legacy of India*, p. 97.



or Mahēśvara, or, in a higher form, Sadāśivamūrti or Sādākhya are the terms used to represent the supreme form of Śiva, where the Supreme Being, the divinity in its highest form, includes within it the functions and features of the three *Mūrtis* which become subordinate, and are actually subordinated in any physical representation. The ordinary representation of Śiva in this supreme form is with five faces, four facing the directions, and the fifth topping them all and facing the east. According to the Ḳāmika Āgama, and other Śaiva Āgamas, these separate faces have distinct features of their own, and distinct names as well, the dominating features being Śaiva nevertheless. The top face is *Īśāna,* which name is also applied to the eastward-looking face sometimes. But the distinctive name for the eastward looking face is given as *Tatpurusha;* the face to the right looking towards the south is *Aghora;* the face looking towards the west *Sadyōjāta* and the face looking towards the north is *Vāmadēva.* This is the supreme form of Śiva as Sādākhya or Sadāśivamūrti. But these very Āgamas prescribe that this figure of Sadāśivamūrti or Sādākhya may also be represented in images with three faces, or even a single face. It would be well therefore to examine this figure at Gharapuri to decide : whether it at all answers to this description. According to the Dhyāna *ślokas* set down below for the three faces here, these should be *Aghora* to the right, *Īśāna,* or Tatpurusha, the middle one, and *Vāmadēva,* the one to the left. The main feature of these is that all of them should exhibit clearly and beyond possibility of error, the Śaiva character of the faces while the the notions underlying Trimūrti demand the characteristics of the three separate *Mūrtis,* and the notion of the dominance of *Śiva* is not so obvious. While therefore we may well call this figure Mahēśamūrti, Mahēśvaramūrti or Sadāśivamūrti, it would not do to call it Trimūrti.

Īśānāhvayamūrdhva-digvaramukham vandāmahē nirmalam
Pūrvam Tatpurusham cha Kuṅkuma nibham yāmyam tvaghōram Haram
Vāmam mērujapāprasūna sadṛśam Yad Vāmadēvam viduḥ
Sadyōjāta māhāprayam (bham) cha paramam gōkshīraphēna-prabham
—(*Śilparatna,* Ch. XXII.)

Īśānam sphaṭikābha (pa) mūrti vadanam Yatkuṅkuma *parichim*?
Pūrvam Tatpurusham tathāśvini nibhā Yāmyancha Ghōrānanam
Yatprāgvam vadanam ya bhāva sadṛśam vāmam tathāchōttarē
Sadyōjāta-mukhantu paścimamitam gōkshīra-tulya prabham.
—(*Kāmika Āgama*)

The two passages quoted above are from the Śilparatna and from the Kāmika Āgama respectively. In respect of these, the following remarks of CODRINGTON deserve attention. Early in the chapter he states it as his conviction that "the doctrinaire's condemnation of a literary approach to any art, just because it is literary, is not justifiable. The formulae of the academic æsthetician or the inspired selectiveness of the dilettanti, both of them so certain of the purity of their appreciation, are too static to reach

the heart of the matter and too small to take in actual experience."[1] Having said that, he has the following remarks nevertheless regarding these literary works as applied to sculpture. "The Common approach to the study of Indian art, specially sculpture, is through the numerous Śāstras or iconographical passages of the Paurāṇic literature. These works are late, and their descriptions do not tally with the sculptures of the early medieval period. From the 10th century onwards iconography undoubtedly became standardised; even then it is evident that the sculptures vary geographically and the nomenclature of the various texts differs. The intentions of this literature are largely mnemonic, the passages serving as dhyāna-shlokas, instructing the worshipper as to how he should visualize the god." The points that call for remark in this citation are that all these works are characterised as late in point of time, and that they do not conform to the earlier examples of sculpture available; and the next point is that these are intended to be merely dhyāna-ślokas rather for the purpose of the worshipper than for the sculptor to proceed upon. In regard to the first, while it is possible that a particular text may be late, as many of these texts in fact are, it would be rather difficult to prove that all of them alike are late. Apart from that, there is a sculptural and iconographic tradition which goes back to a time much anterior to getting recorded in literary works. The underlying *Āgamāic* principle in regard to these pieces of sculptures is that the sculptor merely tries to translate in stone or wood or other material that he might make use of, an idea formed in the mind as to the form and features of a particular *Mūrti* brought under contemplation. This is of the essence of Indian image worship. The worshipper imagines God in a particular form, and offers his worship. It is to fix this form in mind that images come in and get made. The essential feature therefore is the *Dhyāna* first of all, contemplation upon God in one form or another, according as it suits not necessarily the will or pleasure, but the actual notion underlying the devotee's conception of the deity for the particular occasion and for the particular purpose. As such then there should have been canons which may not have developed to the stage of being set down in text books. It is therefore a very material matter what the conception of a particular form of the image happens to be before it gets to be rendered in stone, and it is these imaginary conceptions that are rendered in the form of prescriptions for the making of images in the acknowledged text books Āgamāic, architectural and iconographic. That in works of art, the Hindu artist proceeded on this principle is brought home to us in a casual comparison by a poet who speaks of a particularly charming girl, as one who looked "like a picture formed in the mind of an artist before it is actually translated into the painting." Describing young Maṇimēkhalai going into the house of a Brahman lady for the first alms after the assumption of the rôle of a Bikṣuṇī, she went into the vestibule of the house and stood silent because of shyness. In describing that, the poet

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Opus citi. 77.

says "she stood a picture, fancy formed, in the mind of a painter before being actually transformed to the canvas". This casual reference would indicate that, whether it is painting or sculpture, or whatever it is, the work of an artist is conceived in fancy, before it is translated into a material form of painting or sculpture or iconography. This is the more so as a matter of necessity where the image concerned happens to be that of Gods and Goddesses, images pertaining to whom could have no natural psychical features outside to copy from. Therefore in respect of sculpture and iconography in particular, the normal order seems to be imagination first, and execution next.

So in the case of this figure in the Elephant temple, the image there would depend upon what actually the person or the body of people concerned wanted to erect there, and that ought to be decided on the basis of the features ascribed to particular *Mūrtis*. Therefore texts or no texts, the features of a particular *Mūrti* have to be fancied, and that fancy translated in canvas or images or pieces of sculpture. This *Mūrti* therefore must have been that of Sadāsiva or Sādākhya with five faces, rendered for convenience only with three faces, as such a representation with three faces, or even a single face, is permitted according to the Kāmika Āgama. The elaborate *Dhyāna-ślokas* which describe him differently in that very work, with far more elaborate features, are apparently intended for separate representation of these *Mūrtis*, and not in a composite form, and, where one fancies this in that separate form, he has to reproduce them in that form in picture.

ĀCĀRYAPARAMPARĀ OF WESTERN SANKRITISTS

By

E. V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARYA, Cocanada.

Prof. Dr. F. W. THOMAS says in his *Presidential Address* to the 'Ninth All-India Oriental Conference' held at Trivandrum in December, 1937 :—

'If I might claim to bring, in return for the honour conferred upon one invited from outside, anything worthy of consideration, it would be, I know, only as the vehicle of a tradition. I do now indeed sincerely feel that circumstances have conspired to invest me with a quasi-representative character which happily shrouds my personal inadequacy. As a pupil of COWELL (1826-1903) and a remote successor in London and Oxford of Horace Hayman WILSON (1786-1860), in London, also of BALLANTYNE (? -1864) and others ; as having worshipped at the feet of BARTH (1834-1916), KERN (B. 1833-?), and of AUFRECHT (1822-1907), whose tradition went back to the days of LASSEN and BOPP (1791-1867) ; as a junior friend of BÜHLER (1837-1898), KIELHORN, FLEET (1847-1917), JACOB and BURGESS, whom you knew in India, and of SENART (1847-1928), KÜHN, PISCHEL (?-1908), OLDENBERG, EGGELING, JACOBI (1850-1937), RHYS DAVIDS, and how many others, I feel, that though I may not have personally known MAX MÜLLER (1823-1900) and MONIER WILLIAMS, (1819-99) WEBER, (B. 1825- ?) BÖHTLINGK (1815-1904) or ROTH (1821-95), not to mention many another famous name of that period, yet my roots do really reach far back into the European past of our studies and that in some degrees I am authorized to pronounce in their name a benediction upon your work.'

PROF. ANTOINE LEONARD CHEZY : (1773-1832)

The famous French Sanskritist and the first French savant to learn and teach Saṁskṛta. Also, the first Sanskrit Professor at the *Collège de France.* Rendered valuable services to Sanskrit as an editor and translator of Indian works.

Also a poet in Saṁskṛta.

Famous among his pupils : (*a*) A. W. VON SCHLEGEL, the first Professor of Sanskrit in Germany (University of Bonn) and the first in Germany to develop an extensive activity as a Sanskrit scholar by means of editions of texts, translations and other philological works.

(*b*) Prof. F. BOPP. (*c*) Prof. E. BURNOUF.

PROF. EUGENE BURNOUF : (1801-52).

Pupil of Prof. A. L. CHEZY whom he succeeded as a Professor of Sanskrit (1932) at the *Collège de France* in Paris. 'Author of a new movement which has given to Sanskrit scholarship an entirely new character.

An excellent scholar, but at the same time a man of wide views and true historical instincts and the last man to waste his life on mere Nalas and Śakuntalās. Being brought up in the old traditions of the classical school in France, then for a time a promising young barrister, with influential friends at his side and with a brilliant future before him, he was not likely to spend his life on pretty Sanskrit ditties. What he wanted when he threw himself on Sanskrit was history, human-history, world-history, and with an unerring grasp he laid hold of Vedic literature and Buddhist literature, as the two stepping stones in the slough of Indian literature. He died young and has left a few arches only of the building he wished to rear. But his spirit lived on in his pupils and his friends, and few would deny that the first impulse, directly or indirectly, to all that has been accomplished since by the students of Vedic and Buddhist literatures was given by BURNOUF and his lectures at the *Collège de France*.'—MAX MÜLLER.

His सतीर्थ्य or fellow-students were A. W. VON SCHLEGEL and Prof. F. BOPP.

The foremost of his pupils : Prof. F. BOPP, Prof. Th. GOLDSTÜCKER, Dr. R. ROTH, Prof. MAX MÜLLER and GORRESSIO, the famous Italian Sanskritist. Died in 1852, the year in which two reputed Indologists, Dr. A. HILLEBRANDT and Prof. K. F. GELDNER were born.

PROF. FRANZ BOPP : (1791—1867).

The Father of Comparative Philology. Studied Oriental languages, especially Saṁskrit, under WINDISCHMANN. Went to Paris in 1812, in order to devote himself to the study of Oriental languages and there studied Sanskrit at the feet of SILVESTRE DE SACY, Prof. A. L. CHEZY and Prof. E. BURNOUF, the last of whom was his junior by a decade. From 1821 till death (i. e., 1867) Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Berlin. 'A thoroughly sober investigator of Indian literature, it was he who became the founder of a new science, Comparative Philology, which was destined to a great future—and this by means of his book *Conjugations-system*—published in 1816. In the investigation of Indian literature, too, he has rendered invaluable services. Already in his *Conjugations-system,* he gave as an appendix, some episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahā-Bhārata* in metrical translations from the original text, besides some extracts from the *Vedas* after COLEBROOKE'S English translation. With rare skill, he then singled out of the great epic *Mahābhārata* the wonderful story of king Nala and Damayantī and made it universally accessible by means of a good critical edition with a Latin translation. It has, in fact, become almost traditional at all Western Universities where Sanskrit is taught, to select the Nala-episode as the first reading for the students. A number of other episodes from the *Mahābhārata,* too, were published for the first time and translated into German by Bopp. His *Sanskrit Grammar* (1827, 1832 and 1934) and his *Glossarium Sanscritum* (Berlin 1830) have done very much to further the study of Sanskrit in Germany.'

The year 1867 is a memorable one in the annals of Oriental learning, for, in this year Rājā RĀDHĀ-KĀNTA DEV Bahadur, the erudite and famous author of the first Sanskrit Encyclopædia, the *Śabda-Kalpadruma*, as well as Prof. BOPP departed from this world, while Sister NIVEDITĀ, Dr. HĪRĀLĀL, Dr. Sten KONOW and Dr. F. W. THOMAS were born.

Prof. BOPP'S fellow-students :— Th. GOLDSTÜCKER, Dr. R. ROTH, Prof. MAX MÜLLER and Prof. GORESSIO.

His pupils :— Prof. Th. BENFEY, Prof. OTTO VON BÖHTLINGK, Prof. Th. AUFRECHT as well as Prof. MAX MÜLLER.

PROF. THEODORE AUFRECHT : (1822—1907).

The reputed Sanskritist of Germany. Pupil of Prof. BOPP at the University of Berlin. Professor of Sanskrit at the Göttingen University. In 1852 appointed in the Bodleian Library. In 1862, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Edinburgh. In 1875, honoured with LL. D., by the Edinburgh University. Shortly after, left for the University of Bonn as Professor of Sanskrit.

His fellow-students :—Prof. Th. BENFEY, Prof. BÖHTLINGK and Prof. MAX MÜLLER.

His Successors at Edinburgh :—Dr. J. EGGELING and Dr. A. B. KEITH.

Famous among his pupils :—Dr. P. PETERSON, Dr. H. JACOBI, Dr. E. J. T. HULTZSCH and Prof. Dr. F. W. THOMAS.

Prof. AUFRECHT is too well-known to fame in the Oriental world to need mention through his *Catalogus Catalogorum* (in 3 Vols. 1891, 1896 and 1903) at which he worked for over 40 years, a real triumph of industry coupled with skill and erudition, and these Vols are now being brought up-to-date by the Madras University with the co-operation of eminent South Indian Sanskritists.

The year 1822 is remarkable to the Indologists, for, in this year were born Prof. AUFRECHT, Dr. R. ROST, the Sanskrit savant and the learned librarian of the India office, and M. M., Paravastu Venkaṭa RAṄGĀCĀRYA, the talented author of the *Laghu-śabdārtha-sarvasva*, a Sanskrit Encyclopædia, more copious than the *Śabda-kalpadruma* and more elaborate and authentic than the *Vācaspatya*, and one of the first four recipients of the honoured and coveted title of *Mahā-mahopādhyāya* at the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria (1887).

PROF. HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE : (1765—1836).

One of the illustrious pioneers among English Orientalists. Chief Justice of the High Court at Calcutta (1801). Hony. Professor of Sanskrit at Fort William College, Calcutta. President, Asiatic Society of Bengal. Director, Royal Asiatic Society which he helped to found in 1823. The savant who, after Sir William JONES, carried the torch of Indian Culture to subsequent generations of scholars. A keen mathematician and a versatile genius. Philology, Astronomy, Law and Mathematics claimed his attention

equally. The pioneer to write valuable essays on Indian Philosophy, religious life, grammar, astronomy and arithmetic. His *Essays on the Vedas* (1805), most famous. Edited and translated a number of inscriptions, Wrote a Sanskrit Grammar in English and translated some famous works on Law. Acquired an exceedingly diversified collection of rare books and MSS. worth about £10,000, which he presented to the Library of the East India Company. This collection is to-day one of the valuable treasures of the India Office Library in London. The most illustrious of his pupils was Prof. H. H WILSON.

PROF. HORACE HAYMAN WILSON : (1786—1860).

The famous English Sanskritist. Attended Prof. MAX MÜLLER's first lecture. Pupil of H. T. COLEBROOKE and first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the Oxford University (1833-60). Oriental Visitor at the Haileybury College in succession to Charles WILKINSON, in which capacity WILSON was succeeded by Prof. F. JOHNSON and Prof. M. MONIER WILLIAMS. WILSON'S successors to the Boden Chair for Sanskrit were Prof. M. MONIER WILLIAMS (since 1860), Dr. A. A. MACDONELL (1899-1926), Dr. F. W. THOMAS (1926--37), and Dr. E. H. JOHNSTON (since 1937). Prof. WILSON was also the Librarian of the India Office Library after Charles WILKINS, and WILSON'S successors at this office were Dr. J. B. BALLANTYNE (1861-64), Dr. R. ROST and Dr. F. W. THOMAS

WILSON became famous through his *Theatre of the Hindus* in 2 Vols.

Famous among his pupils :—Dr. BALLANTYNE, Prof. M. MONIER WILLIAMS, Prof. COWELL and Prof. GRIFFITH.

PROF. E. B. COWELL : (1826- 1903).

Pupil of Prof. H. H. WILSON. Attended the first lecture of Prof. MAX MÜLLER. His fellow-students were Dr. BALLANTYNE, Prof. MONIER WILLIAMS and Prof. GRIFFITH.

Prof. COWELL was the 'Guru' of perhaps the greatest number of English Sanskritists. For sometime since 1856, Prof. COWELL was the Professor of History and Political Economy at the Calcutta Presidency College and later, President of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. His special friends and guides here in Sanskrit were M. M., MAHEŚACANDRA-NYĀYARATNA, PREMCHAND TARKA-VĀGĪŚA, and JAYANĀRĀYAṆA TARKA-PAÑCĀNAN. Left India for England (1863). First Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Cambridge University (1867-1903) in which capacity he served for a period of 36 years (1867-1903). His successors here : Prof. C. BENDALL (1903-06), Prof. E. J. RAPSON (1906-36) and Dr. H. W. BAILEY (since 1936).

His pupils :— Prof. E. J. RAPSON, Prof. M. A. FOUCHER, Prof. R. A. NEIL. Dr. F. W. THOMAS, C. M. RIDING, Miss ARUNDALE, Dr. L. D. BARNETT and Principal NILAMANI MUKHERJI (in 1895) of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

PROF. THEODORE BENFEY : (1809—81).

The famous German Sanskritist. Distinguished linguist and folk-lorist. Pupil of Prof. BOPP. For some time, Professor of Sanskrit at Frankfort. From 1848, Extra-Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology and Professor from 1862, in the Göttingen University.

His fellow-students :—Prof. BÖHTLINGK, Prof. AUFRECHT and Prof. MAX MÜLLER.

Famous among his pupils :— Dr. G. BÜHLER, the Prismatic Scholar, the Dhruva of Indology and a veritable Vasiṣṭha of Indo-Aryan Research ; Prof. E. SENART, the famous French Orientalist, Dr. J. WACKERNAGEL, Dr. A. A. MACDONELL, and Dr. C. BENDALL.

'GURU-PARAMPARĀ' OF WESTERN SANSKRITISTS.

TABLE I.

THE PŪRVĀCĀRYAS OF PROF. DR. F. W. THOMAS

A. L. Chezy. (1773—1832).

A. W. von Schlegel (1767—1845).
F. Bopp (1791—1861).
E. Burnouf (1801—52).

Ch. Lassen
Th. Goldstücker

P. Deussen

C. Formichi (B. 1871).

F. Bopp
R. Roth (1821—1895).
Th. Goldstücker (1821—72).
F. Max Müller (1823—1900)
Gorressio

J. F. Fleet (1847—1917).
P. Peterson (1847—99)

W. D. Whitney (1827—94).
K. F. Geldner (1852—1929).
A. A. Macdonell (1854—1930).
C R. Lanman (B. 1854—?).
A. K. Kaegi
R. Garbe
Arnold

C R. Lanman
Sten Konow (B. 1867).
A. B. Keith (B. 1879).

[S. K. Belvalkar]
G. Morgenstierne

Th. Benfey (1809—81).
O. von Böhtlingk (1815—1904).
W. von Humboldt
Th. Aufrecht (1822—1907).
F. Max Müller (1823—1900).

G. Bühler (1837—98).
E. Senart (1847—1928).
J. Wackernagel (1853—1938).
A. A. MacDonell (1854—1930).
C. Bendall (1856—1906).

Cartelliere
E. J. T. Hultzsch (1857—1927).
M. Winternitz (1863—1937).
C. Formichi (B. 1871).
Sconberg

M. Winternitz

Otto Stein
[Har Dutt Sarma]

Ballini
Bellori
Suali
Valluari
Tucci

P. Peterson (1847—99).
H. Jacobi (?) (1850—1937).
E. J. T. Hultzsch (1857—1927).
F. W. Thomas (B. 1867 ?).

J. Charpentier (1884—1935).

TABLE II.

PŪRVĀCĀRYAS AND SA-TĪRTHYAS OF DR. F. W. THOMAS.

H. T. Colebrooke (1765—1836).

H. H. Wilson (1786—1860).

Monier Williams (1819—99).
P. Peterson (1847—99).

J. B. Ballantyne (?—1864).

E. B. Cowell (1826—1903).

R. T. H. Griffith (1826—1906).
[M. M., Adityarām Bhaṭṭacārya]
[M. M., Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā]
[K. Ch. Caṭṭopādhyāya]

C. Bendall (1856—1906).
E. J. Rapson (1861—1937).
F. W. Thomas (B. 1861 ?)
M. A. Foucher
R. A. Neil
C. M. Riding
L. D. Barnett
[S. K. De]